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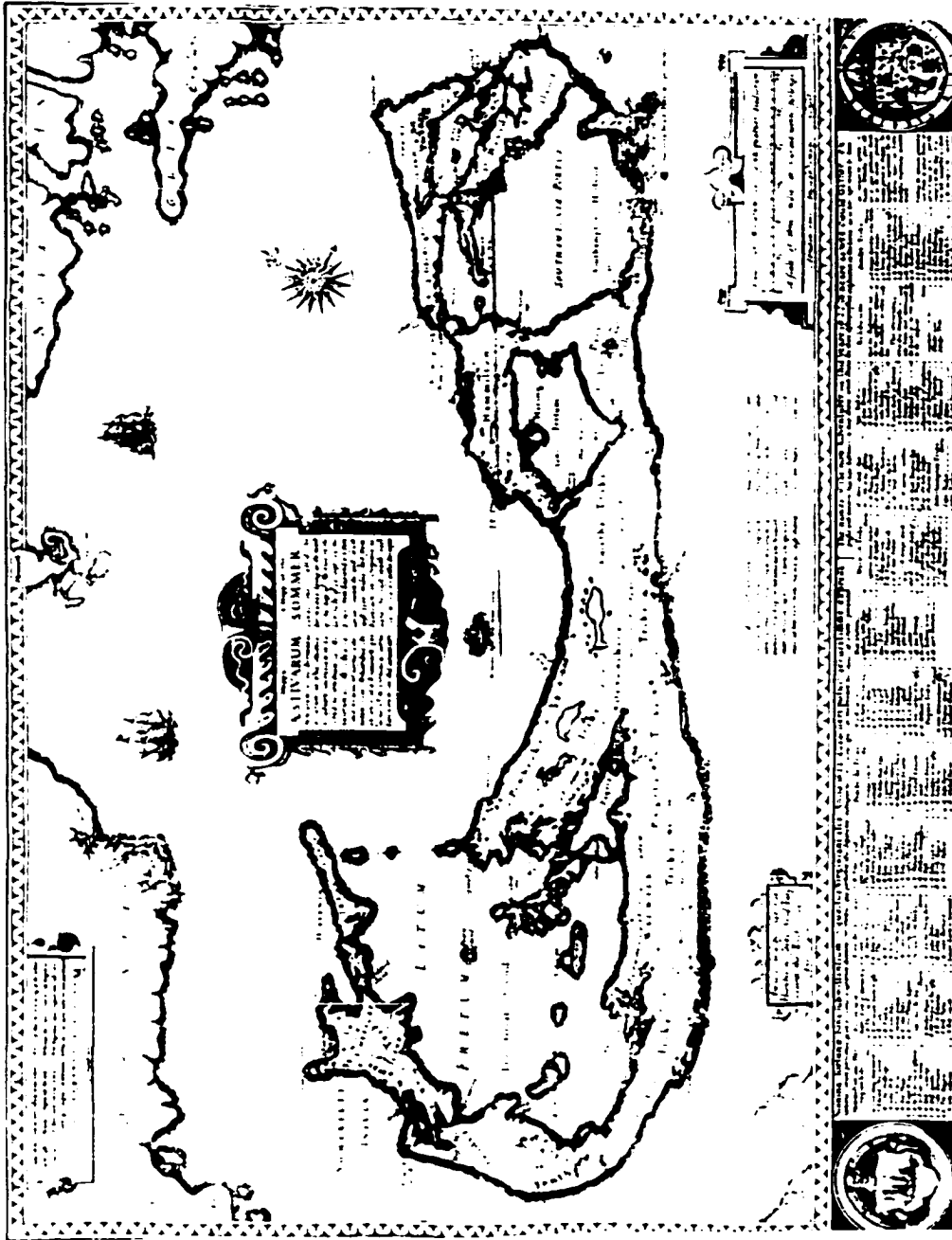
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MAP OF BERMUDA BY R. NORWOOD, 1618

Andrews University

School of Education

**THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF
HIGHER EDUCATION IN BERMUDA**

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Inez E. C. Browne-Dixon

January 1984

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF
HIGHER EDUCATION IN BERMUDA

A dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment
of requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

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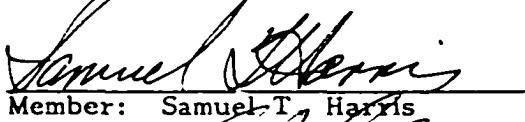
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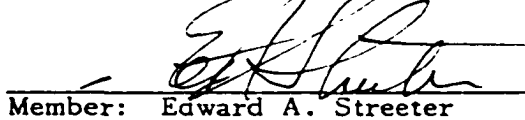

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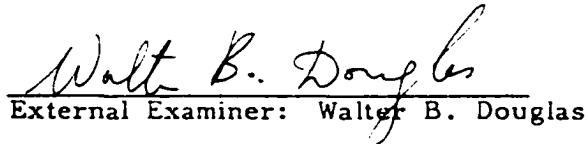

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ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

School of Education

Title: **THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION
IN BERMUDA**

Name of researcher: Inez E. C. Browne-Dixon

Name and degree of faculty advisor: Bernard M. Lall, Ph.D.

Date completed: January 1984

Phenomenal, pervasive, and fundamental change characterize the 1980s, often threatening to lead to entropy and decay. Innovative ways must be found to maintain equilibrium amidst disorienting world events. The search to find a more meaningful experience has moved education to the center of social and cultural concern and created renewed interest in the foundations of educational practice.

Problem

A diligent search revealed a great lack of systematic studies on the development of higher education in Bermuda. There is a need to select data on higher education and present them in a comprehensible format. This study sought to fill that need. It situated the

development of higher education in a historical framework and traced its development from the first attempt, in 1626, to 1980, when the first phase of the Stonington Campus of Bermuda College was completed and occupied.

Method

The study employed both descriptive and inferential approaches to historical research. The organizational structure was designed to show social influences on the development of higher education in Bermuda. The study sought characteristics that would substantiate the thesis that the development of higher education in Bermuda was a discontinuous but persistent struggle which resulted in the sophisticated system that existed in 1980.

Findings

The development of higher education in Bermuda was characterized by a series of struggles and disappointments, with neither a sense of continuity nor a marked evolutionary process. It is, therefore, safe to conclude that the evidence presented substantiated the thesis that the development of higher education in Bermuda was a discontinuous but persistent struggle which resulted in the sophisticated system that existed in 1980.

Decisive issues also involved the transmission, development, and refinement of the legacy up to 1980. These issues were discussed as religious, ethical, political, identity, financial, and racial concerns.

Few efforts achieved permanent success, however, the totality of the experiences has influenced the changing theories and practices of higher education in Bermuda today. The study should provide

new insights into current educational concerns and diffuse important concepts for the re-invigoration of higher interaction between the school and the larger community. Bermuda College has the potential to make the educational experience a highly fulfilling endeavor.

DEDICATION

To my son, Roy,
and my aunt, Pearl,
without whose encouragement
and inspiration
this work could not
have been accomplished.

.

EPILOGUE

In the annals of human history the growth of nations, the rise and fall of empires, appear as dependent on the will and prowess of man. The shaping of events seems, to a great degree, to be determined by his power, ambition or caprice. But in the word of God the curtain is drawn aside and we behold, behind, above, and through all the play and counterplay of human interests and power and passions, the agencies of the all-merciful One, silently, patiently working out the counsels of His own will.

--Ellen G. White, 1903

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	x
PREFACE	xii
Statement of the Problem	xiv
The Purpose of the Study	xiv
Significance of the Study	xv
Delimitations of the Study	xv
Definition of Terms	xvi
The Concept of "Higher Education"	xvii
Methodology	xviii
Design of the Study	xxi
Overview of the Literature	xxiii
Summary	xxvii

Chapter

I. THE PROLOGUE	1
Historical Background: The Setting	1
The Settlement of Bermuda	4
Physical Setting	6
Structure	8
Vegetation	8
Population	9
Political Setting	11
Moore's Administration	11
The Bermuda Company	12
The First Governor for the Bermuda Company	14
Social Setting	15
Introduction to Slavery	15
Migration Problems	16
The Bermudians by 1700	18
Summary	21

Chapter

II. THE ENGLISH HERITAGE	23
Introduction	23
The Content and Quality of the	
Intellectual Legacy	24
The Religious Legacy	27
An Attempt to Provide Higher Education	30
Patrons of Learning	31
Confronting Difficulties	32
Later Years	35
Issues	36
Socio-Religious Issues	37
Religio-Political Issues	38
Summary	40
III. HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIETY:	
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	42
Introduction	42
Overview	43
Revival of Interest in Education	51
The Efforts of Religious Societies	51
Berkeley's St. Paul's College in Bermuda	54
Financial Arrangements	59
In Rhode Island	67
Issues	70
Summary	74
IV. SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN BERMUDA:	
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	76
The Economic Scene	77
New Social Trends	80
Social Activities	80
New Literary and Intellectual Interests	31
Influence of Romanticism	83
The Religious Scene	84
The Educational Scene	86
Higher Education	89
Efforts by Blacks	89
Efforts Made by Whites	91
Dowding: Biographical Sketch	92
Concept and Treatment of Slaves	94
Dowding Initiates His Plan	96
Promoting the Plan: Bermuda	96
Promoting the Plan: England	97
The Revival of Berkeley's Project	99

Chapter

Suggestions for Funding the Project	101
The English Patrons	103
The Bermuda Response	105
Finalizing the Plans	109
Reaction to the Plan	111
Dowding Responds	111
Public Opinion	113
The School Opens	114
Gray Attacks	115
The School Closes	116
Issues	118
Summary	120
 V. IMPACT OF CHANGE ON THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS . . .	121
Education During the Early Twentieth Century: 1900-1963	122
Issues	124
Efforts to Resolve the Issues	126
Social and Political Issues	128
Boycotts and Universal Suffrage	128
Party Politics	130
The Origin and Growth of Trade Unions	131
Social and Economic Developments	133
U.S. Bases	133
The Tourist Industry	136
Educational Implementations	138
Issue: School Reform	139
Summary	141
 VI. REDESIGNING THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM	142
Extending Educational Opportunities	143
Issue: Integration in Schools	145
Reviewing the Educational System	149
The Joint Select Committee	150
Effect of the Education Act, 1965	152
Urgent Need of Higher Education	154
Teacher Training	154
Bermudianization of the Teaching Personnel	156
Tertiary Education	158
Towards a More Meaningful Tertiary Education	160
Academic Sixth Form	163
Technical Education	166
The Bermuda Hotel School	169
The Commercial Sixth Form	172
Summary	175

Chapter

VII. THE BERMUDA COLLEGE	178
Origins	179
Proposal for a College in Bermuda	181
The Bermuda College Act, 1974: Its Provisions	183
Board of Directors	184
Defining the College Model.	185
Financial Policies	187
The Social System of Bermuda College	189
Personnel	189
The Curriculum	190
Curriculum Design.	191
The First Year of Bermuda College	192
The Continuum: Hallett's Administration	193
Report of Progress	195
The Department of Academic Studies.	195
Adult and International Programs	197
The Department of Commerce and Technology	198
The Department of Hotel Technology.	201
Stonington Facilities.	202
Issues.	207
Summary	210
VIII. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS	212
Summary	212
Conclusions	216
Implications	217
Suggestions for Further Research	225
APPENDIXES	227
Appendix A: Names of the Original Adventurers in Bermuda	228
Appendix B: Statistics Showing the Number of Children in Bermuda Receiving Instruction.	230
Appendix C: Statistics for Government Expenditures on Education, 1901-1960	232
Appendix D: Statistics for Government Expenditures, 1969-1971	234
Appendix E: The Bermuda College Act	236
LIST OF REFERENCES	243

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bermuda by R. Norwood, 1618	Frontispiece
2. Sir George Somers	2
3. Bishop George Berkeley	53
4. Seal of St. Paul's College	62
5. St. Paul's College Medal	66
6. The Bermuda College Arms	174
7. Stonington Beach Hotel	203
8. Stonington Beach Hotel	206

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A comprehensive history of the kind given in this study would not be possible if historical accounts of different aspects of education in many different times and in a variety of settings had not been previously undertaken. Many of these works provided the basis for this study and I gratefully acknowledge their contribution to this study. However, with all these available sources, I could not have completed this study and presented it in its present form without the invaluable assistance of the members of my dissertation committee. I can never sufficiently acknowledge my debt of gratitude to the chairman of the committee, Dr. Bernard Lall, from whose critiques, general suggestions, and words of encouragement I have greatly benefited. Without his help and support and that of the other members of the committee, Dr. Fonda Chaffee, Dr. Samuel Harris, and Dr. Edward Streeter, this would not have reached fruition. It is a pleasure to acknowledge their contribution to this study and exonerate them of any responsibility for the contents of this study. The final responsibility rests solely with the researcher.

Expressions of thanks go to the librarians of the James White Library, the Bermuda Library and the Bermuda Archives, the New York Historical Library, the Library of Congress, the Virginia Historical Society, the Earl Gregg Swen Library, and Yale University for their cooperation in ferretting out various rare books and articles.

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Finally and most reverently, I lift a heart of gratitude and praise to God for His kindness and unfailing support during this process of intellectual and spiritual growth.

PREFACE

In any culture, in any age, the educational system of a society --whether specifically designed or merely inherited or tolerated--is an outgrowth, an expression, a reflection of the society which gives it nurture. Thus all societies have sought to design a system of education which would encourage acceptance of their basic principles, beliefs, and values; a method for the acculturation of its citizens through formal instruction as well as through customs, ritual, and other devices. There is also on the part of some individuals the conviction that education is primarily a medium for stimulating the development of mental capacity, dexterity, and creativity. West expressed this thought by stating that "true education will acquaint us with ourselves and our surroundings by training the mind to its highest efficiency making it able both to know and to use all its powers to their fullest capacity."¹

Response to this continuing process of challenge, action, and acceptance motivated Renaissance Europe in its efforts to design an adequate system of education to cope with the increasing needs and complexities of changing social values. The operative powers of the dynamic process provided scope for freedom and experiment in education at every level of the educational system. Later, during the height of European colonizing activities these concepts were transplanted into

¹ Andrew F. West, "What Is Academic Freedom?" North American Review 140 (May 1885):432.

the colonies. They became the determinants of a unique educational system for each colony.¹

Very early in the history of the Bermuda Islands (1626), the colonists became interested in providing higher education primarily for the savage Indians in North America.

Plans for schools appear in the first land divisions and records, and many schemes ranging from international universities, theological seminaries and centralized secondary schools, to the tiny grammar schools meeting in churches, were projected and in some cases carried out. A thin thread spinning through the loom of the past links dreams of 1619 to failures and successes to found centres of learning that today have outgrown their bounds and their budgets.²

In the 1970s there has been a renewed interest in the conduct of schools and colleges everywhere; and the Bermuda educational system has not escaped scrutiny. In a word, education has become a paramount matter of public interest ranging in scope from widely publicized debates in legislative halls to private conversations between individuals. In view of this renewed public interest in education and the inevitable differences of attitude and opinion it creates, it is vitally important that judgments be based upon the best evidence available and the most informed and intelligent processes of thought and discussion. Lack of knowledge or reliance upon halftruths and invalid generalizations are dangerous bases upon which to form public or private opinions

¹J. H. Lefroy, Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Is. 1515-1685 (Bermuda: Bermuda Historical Society and the Bermuda National Trust, 1981), pp. 140, 395. Lefroy prepared, sorted, arranged, and annotated the scattered records of Bermuda under the Virginia and Bermuda Companies. This monumental task took several years. The first volume appeared in 1876. Volume II was published in 1879. A reprint was subsequently made in 1932. The 1981 edition is the latest.

²Royal Gazette Weekly (Bermuda), 17 February 1957, p. 12.

about education. Scientific evidence is important and should be available to provide valid guidelines by which to base assumptions.

Statement of the Problem

A diligent search revealed that there is a great lack of systematic studies available on the historical development of higher levels of education in Bermuda. Valuable data are available on the topic; however, these exist as discrete findings lacking an organizational framework, and they have not always been subjected to rigorous, systematic research.

There is need to select and synthesize the data on higher levels of education in Bermuda and to present them in a comprehensible format which makes them more accessible to policy makers, administrators, and the general public who share the responsibility for the conduct and financing of education.

The Purpose of the Study

This study seeks to present a synthetic account of the development of higher levels of education in Bermuda from its colonization in 1609 to 1981, the year that the Bermuda College first occupied the Stonington campus. The pattern of the development of higher education in Bermuda, the struggles and their outcomes are examined to see if there were any characteristics in the evolvement to support the thesis that the development of higher education in Bermuda was a discontinuous but persistent struggle until it developed into the sophisticated system that exists today as Bermuda College.

Significance of the Study

This study represents a preliminary effort to provide a comprehensive view of the historical development of higher education in Bermuda. Its practical significance lies in its ability to facilitate the designing of a viable model for effective, current educational purposes and practice. It should serve as a catalyst to sensitize students to the implications and necessity of educational research. Its academic significance lies in its potential to enhance the existing literature and to foster a greater appreciation of the educational heritage. It also lies in its ability to foster not an idolization of the past but an enlargement of the understanding of the past achievements despite foreboding circumstances. It is believed that there is intrinsic value in gaining a global perspective of the present in its relationship to past events. These events, far removed from the present times created traditions, outlooks, and educational practices that still have practical utility in the 1980s. They can make the study and the understanding of higher levels of education in contemporary Bermuda meaningful and easily understood.

Delimitations of the Study

So many international and local events have altered the context and perspective of education that it seems feasible to maintain a sense of direction by giving pertinence to the study of the history of education in Bermuda. The area of higher education in Bermuda seems microscopic enough and yet important enough to be approached from a definite and limited perspective. This approach is particularly appropriate at this time when higher education is in the midst of an era of reorganization and reevaluation.

Definition of Terms

It can be readily observed that defining terms presents some difficulty at best; however, in an effort to facilitate the reader's understanding, the following definitions are given:

Commercial Sixth Form. A postsecondary unit with a strong emphasis on commercial subjects. It was merged with two other units to form the nucleus of the Bermuda College in 1975.

Free School. The term frequently used in colonial times as a substitute for "grammar school." Instruction was free only to a limited number of 'poor scholars' who received a scholarship; all pupils were expected to pay.

GCE "O", "A" Level. An abbreviated form for the General Certificate of Education (London) at the Ordinary and Advanced levels. The terms are used interchangeably for both the examination and the certificate.

Minister of Education. The individual whom the Constitution of Bermuda defines as the Member of Parliament whose portfolio includes the Department of Education, the Bermuda Public Library, and the Bermuda Archives.

Open University. A correspondence university which employs broadcasting and other media extensively. The idea originated in England.

Sixth Form Centre. A postsecondary academic unit designed primarily to educate teenage boys in technical and commercial subjects. It also provided facilities for those of its students with special aptitudes to proceed to college and university. It was merged with two other units to form the nucleus of the Bermuda College in 1974.

The Concept of "Higher Education"

In any institutional setting, such as education, the definition of what an institution is thought to be at any one time is useful for an understanding of the function of that institution. The concept of higher education in the English colonies was constantly being defined and redefined as renewed efforts were made to extend and improve both the quality and the product of education. The concept most prevalent during the early period of colonization was that of an institution whose program of studies was usually attended by those students of varying postelementary academic achievements. Many of these institutions accepted students of ten years and older. These institutions were limited in range and scope; they were designed primarily to produce officials of church and state. The curriculum consisted mainly of reading, writing, a knowledge of the Bible, Canon Law, and liturgies. Little can be said definitely with reference to the standards obtained in the earlier institutions which are constantly referred to interchangeably as college, seminary, collegiate school, and academy. The distinction between college and grammar school courses, if any, is hard to determine and the sequence is not clear. The term "Higher Education" is used when referring to these institutions, however, and this is one of the concepts employed in this study when referring to the projects of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

The term increasingly came to indicate a program of studies pursued in an educational institution with a liberal arts college combined with one or more professional and/or vocational schools and perhaps a school of graduate studies. This is the concept employed when referring to the Bermuda College founded in 1975.

Methodology

The nonexistence of an institution of higher learning in Bermuda until the 1970s has always aroused the interest and curiosity of the author. The processes operative in the establishment and development of the existing college have also been intriguing and created a desire to undertake an in-depth study of the dynamics involved. When the opportunity to accept the challenge to seek to discover, in greater detail, the philosophy, the principles, the elements, circumstances, and influences which played an important role in the establishment of the college in 1975 came, it was readily accepted. Consequently the selection of that topic as a potentially attractive area for a research study presented little difficulty. Many definitive and complex problems needed to be resolved, however, before arriving at the final decision to investigate the problem. The conviction that no problem is beyond resolution by reasonable individuals and methods acted as a stimulus urging the author to accept the challenge and to embark on preliminary preparations for the design and organization of the study.

One of the first and most important considerations was to ascertain the feasibility of the study for submission at the doctoral level. Conferences with the university advisor yielded positive results. Interest and encouragement in such an undertaking was received from prominent educational administrators, legislators, and concerned members of the Bermuda community. The appeal and selection of the topic was thus greatly enhanced.

Another important task was to situate the problem in its right perspective. Consideration had to be given to the nature and significance of the educational heritage and its impact on the Bermuda society.

Answers had to be found to such questions as: What was the origin, nature, and extent of the endowment received? How much of this heritage was available and appropriated during the formative period of the seventeenth century? What were the dynamic factors that influenced its transmission, development, and refinement to the present decade?

It was also necessary to evaluate the availability, quality, and location of sources needed for study, etc. A preliminary survey and data search for relevant information proved unrewarding. Some secondary sources which provided details of the history of general education in Bermuda were included. The details from these standard secondary sources which were utilized in the study were critically examined before it was decided that they were admissible as creditable historical evidence. The four criteria suggested by Gottschalk were applied:¹

1. Was the ultimate source of the detail (the primary witness) able to tell the truth?
2. Was the primary witness willing to tell the truth?
3. Was the primary witness accurately reported with regard to the detail under examination?
4. Is there any independent corroboration of the detail under examination?

Gottschalk asserted that "any detail (regardless of the source, or who the author) that passes all four tests is credible historical evidence." Lefroy's details were thus examined. His credibility was further verified by two notable Bermuda historians. The works of Brown, Luce, Fraser, and others were subjected to similar scrutiny and presented as credible on similar premises.

¹Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p. 50.

A corollary difficulty was the finding of adequate source material for the history of higher education in Bermuda. Further search revealed the existence of biographical and social historical works which had the potential of providing the depth and scope required for the study. These offered a partial and hypothetical basis for investing the findings. It seemed feasible at this stage to classify the findings and formulate a general outline.

Subsequent and more meticulous reviews of the literature revealed a variety of sources for obtaining data. These were carefully analyzed for bibliographic information whether directly or indirectly related to the topic. Gradually, the study evolved into its present form. This study is a detailed description and analysis of the major events in the development of higher education in Bermuda. It is not only concerned with presenting the historical account but with articulating the meaning and relevance of the faith, the goals--more specifically the educational goals and accomplishments--of Bermudians.

The study utilizes both the descriptive and the inferential approaches in discussing the events. This method was adopted in an effort not only to describe the details but to give them relevance and meaning. The central thesis of the study is that the development of higher education in Bermuda was a discontinuous but persistent struggle for survival which culminated until it developed into the sophisticated system that exists today. The key to obtaining some knowledge of these facts lies in a greater understanding of the issues that surfaced during the development of higher education, and of the efforts made to resolve these issues. Four cases are presented as evidence.

The efforts to achieve as authentic and balanced an account

XX

as possible highlighted the search for primary sources. It was gratifying to recognize that most of the original early records have been preserved and were available. Some portions of the literature proved particularly invaluable in facilitating, as it were, the rediscovery of the early colonial period of Bermuda history. A serious attempt has been made to use discriminating judgment in incorporating the results of these findings into the study. In addition, an effort has been made to preserve the tone of the period and the personal element by including the Old English spelling verbatim and using diaries, letters, journals, and wills. The account provides details of the progression of events in striving to establish a local institution of higher learning.

The existing college, the latest in the link, is of relatively recent origin. It is recognized that because of its recency relatively few articles or books are available that give its history systematic treatment. The data for this period were largely obtained from the college publications, journals, newspaper articles, and educational and legislative reports. The various approaches utilized in obtaining reference sources were all designed to provide a synthesis of well-documented and more complete information in an attractive literary form.

Design of the Study

The organizational structure of this study is designed to preserve the values of the factual and chronological treatment of history in its setting in the social foundations of each period.

The study contains eight chapters. The first chapter provides the contextual setting for the discovery of Bermuda. The major events

occurring in the colony during its nascent period--1609 to 1700--are also discussed.

Chapter 2 briefly considers the intellectual and religious heritage that the Bermuda colonists received from England. This is pivotal to the discussion of the efforts to provide higher education in Bermuda during the seventeenth century.

Chapter 3 explores the social and economic orientations of eighteenth-century Bermuda with their implications for the educational enterprise. The second section of the chapter describes the Bermuda Project as proposed by Bishop George Berkeley and suggests some reasons why the project failed to materialize.

Chapter 4 acquaints the reader with the social issues and the priorities of Bermudians during the nineteenth century. The major efforts to make higher education accessible to the non-traditional students--Negroes and women--are described. It explores the agreement of these two groups prior to this period.

Chapter 5 discusses the social antecedents of the new educational philosophies of the twentieth century. It suggests that these developments had many postures, each of which has advantages and disadvantages. It serves to provide insights into the increasing awareness and recognition of the concept of higher education as a social responsibility.

Chapter 6 portrays the political, economic, and social milieu of the period 1965-75 and presents a description of the tertiary institutions which formed the nucleus of the Bermuda College.

Chapter 7 explores the origin, growth, and development of the Bermuda College; it details the efforts to implement the concept of

higher education as a means for self-actualization, a place where the student learns to become authentic.

The final chapter is a commentary on the study as a whole. It summarizes the major events and issues involved in the efforts to provide higher education in Bermuda. It shows that the cases presented substantiated the thesis. It also discusses some of the implications of current social events for the future of Bermuda College. It reinforces the need for constant evaluation of the various aspects of the college, for change and re-definition of emphases.

Overview of the Literature

All basic research designs devote an entire section to a discussion of the review of the literature researched for the study. Such a procedure serves not only as a source of information but also as a source of guidance to the researcher and hopefully to the reader. The main body of a historical study, however, is in essence the review of the literature and this eliminates the necessity of such a review. A brief overview of the literature researched is presented here to provide the reader with a comprehensive understanding of the nature and extent of the topics discussed in the study.

A resume of the attempts to establish an institution of higher learning in Bermuda begins as early as 1622. According to Lefroy¹ and the Royal Gazette Weekly,² the Reverend Patrick Copeland, Nicholas Ferrar, Sir Edwin Sandys, and other benevolent donors actively began

¹Lefroy, 1:395, 431.

²Edward D. Neill, Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copeland (New York: Charles Scribner, 1871), p. 91; Royal Gazette Weekly (Bermuda), 17 February 1957. (hereafter referred to as Royal Gazette)

to pursue an educational plan designed primarily to convert the Indians. The original plan was to establish a free school and college in Virginia. The plan was widely accepted; however, it was abandoned as a result of a massacre of the whites by the Indians in 1622. The desire for such an institution continued to be a motivating force in Copeland's life. Determined to see his dream realized, he turned to Bermuda as a favorite site for implementing his plan. He arrived there in 1626 and acquired land in Paget which was the proposed site for the seminary. He died before his dream could be fulfilled.

The Colonial Papers, Luce, Proceeding from the Royal Academy, the works of George Berkeley,¹ and other sources supplied reliable information on Bishop Berkeley's plan to establish St. Paul's College "for the better supplying of churches in our foreign plantation and for converting the savage Indians."² Berkeley sailed to the New World and waited in vain in Rhode Island for the financial aid which had been promised. He was grievously disappointed when it failed to materialize. He later returned to England where he was honored with the Bishopric of Cloyne in 1734.

¹Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies 1724 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1860):327, 328, 342, 364 (hereafter cited as CSP); Historical Manuscripts Commission, no. 281 (hereafter cited as HMC); A. A. Luce, The Life of George Berkeley (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1949), pp. 95-114; Idem, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1934) 42, sec. C, no. 6, pp. 97-129; Joseph Stock, comp. The Works of George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne (London: Charles Daly, 1837).

²George Berkeley, A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in Our Foreign Plantations, and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity by a College to Be Erected in the Summer Islands, Otherwise Called the Isles of Bermuda (London: H. Woodfall, 1725).

Lloyd and Private Acts¹ give accounts of the efforts of the Imperial Government to establish Devonshire College for white boys in Bermuda. A spacious building on an extensive site in Devonshire was erected for this purpose. It was hoped that the salubrity of the climate and the excellence of the school would attract boarding students from abroad as well as day students. After six years of operation, the college was closed by an Act of Parliament (1835) since it proved no longer financially feasible. Journals of the House of Assembly and "Proceedings of the Trustees" also give similar accounts.²

Reverend Dowding was also deeply convicted that Negroes should have the opportunity to receive higher education and his project to revive St. Paul's College in Bermuda included such a plan. The Bermuda Herald (January 29, 1853), Gray's Revival of Bishop Berkeley's Bermuda College, and several letters of correspondence between Reverend Dowding to the Governor of Bermuda, N. A. Butterfield (Secretary to the Trustees of the College), and the Governor of the Bahamas added color and interest to the account.³

¹Bermuda, Bermuda Legislature, "The Devonshire College Act, 1816," 1816: no. 11, in Private Acts of the Legislature of the Islands of Bermuda, 1709-1953, vol. 1, pt. 2, sec. 1, p. 73; Suzette Harriet Lloyd, Sketches of Bermuda (London: J. Cochrane, 1835), pp. 211-214; Royal Gazette, 2 June, 8 September 1829.

²Bermuda, Bermuda Government, "Ancient Journals of the House of Assembly, 1816," vol. 6, pp. 109, 112 (hereafter cited as JHA); Bermuda, Colonial Legislature, "Bermuda Acts, 1690-1883," 2 vols., 1816, no. 56, 1:89; Bermuda, "Proceedings of the Trustees of Devonshire, Pembroke, and Warwick School," manuscript, Bermuda Archives.

³Bermuda Herald, 20, 27, 29 January 1853; Bermuda, Legislative Council, Minutes of Council in Assembly, 4 March 1851; S. Brownlow Gray, The Revival of Bishop Berkeley's Bermuda College (London: Whittaker & Co., 1853), p. 17; Dowding to E. B. Seon, 20 December 1852, cited in Bermuda Herald, 27 January 1853.

During the 1880s the right of women to higher education was successfully challenged and by 1889, according to the Royal Gazette Weekly (March 1, 1857) and the Minutes of the Mount St. Agnes Academy, an institute was opened where girls could receive higher education.¹

Though it was popularly believed that the Negro race was incapable of intellectual culture, some efforts were made to provide higher education for the Negro youth. The minutes from the annual conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) of 1889, Robinson, and the Royal Gazette Weekly² throw light on the efforts made by Negroes to provide higher education for Negroes. The Bermuda Collegiate Institute, a college started by the AMEs prospered for over a decade but was declared defunct in 1903. During its relatively short existence, however, it made a great contribution to higher education for blacks.

As the twentieth century dawned, a new concept of education emerged. Bermudians sought educational opportunities which exceeded those of previous generations. . . . This intellectual revolution received great emphasis and publicity in the local newspaper, the debates of the House of Assembly, and in literature (both books and articles) written by Bermudians during that period.

¹Royal Gazette, 4, 11 March 1857; Mt. St. Agnes Academy, Executive Committee, Report, Private Papers, 1982.

²African Methodist Episcopal Church, Minutes of the Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) (Bermuda), 4 November 1889; Royal Gazette Weekly (Bermuda), 9 February 1892. The name of the Gazette changed several times. It was originally called the Bermuda Gazette (1784-1827); after other changes, it assumed its current name in 1921. In this paper it is referred to as the Royal Gazette.

The Houghton (1965), Plowman (1963), Richardson (1965), and Sauls (1973) reports all addressed the question with the objectivity and frankness it deserved.¹ The Colonial Reports of the 60s and 70s urged the need to make such provisions. Brock's ardent belief in an enlightened citizenry and his support of the movement towards higher education for all are cited in his reports of his visits to the USA and to Canada. The Private Acts of Bermuda, 1974, the publications of the college newspaper articles, and interviews authenticate the different aspects of the account of the Bermuda College.²

Summary

The struggles and problems that confronted Bermudians in their efforts to make higher education available appear to be unique. The difficulties came primarily from financial crises, local and foreign; they can also be attributed in part to a general disinterest in education --the "selfmade" man was considered the more successful individual. While some of the institutions succeeded they had a relatively short

¹David J. Saul, A Survey of the Bermuda Educational System (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1973); Harold Houghton, comp., Report on the Educational System in Bermuda (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1964); Henry Richardson, Report of an Appraisal of Bermuda's Economy and Future Prospects (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bank of Bermuda & Bank of N. T. Butterfield, 1963); H. O. B. Wooding, comp., Report on the Bermuda Civil Disorders (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1968); John Robin Plowman, comp., Report of the Commission on Training and Employment in Bermuda (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1963).

²Bermuda, Bermuda Legislature, "The Bermuda College Act, 1974," no. 68, Private Acts of the Legislature of the Islands of Bermuda, 1975, p. 265; Bermuda, Bermuda College, Calendar, 1975-1981; Gloria McPhee, "Recollections of a Planning Design for an Institution of Further Education in Bermuda" (Bermuda: Manuscript, 1982); Mansfield Brock, Jr., "Community College Study Tour Report" (Bermuda: Manuscript, 1975); Bermuda, Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1974-1980.

and unstable life. But the idea, the desire, the determination had been established. In the 70s, when the conditions seemed most favorable, the concerned individuals behind the project took the initiative and sought to implement their plans for founding the Bermuda College, despite the dubiousness of the public. The college was incorporated by the Bermuda College Act of 1974 and began its operations in 1975. Formidable challenges may present themselves but the prognosis seems to indicate a long and promising future for the college. In an age of perplexing challenges in higher education, Bermuda College must seek to provide an education which will prove its ability and desire to serve and lead amid the increasing complexities of the contemporary world.

Almost every worthwhile endeavor encounters serious problems which give rise to various types of issues--some tenacious, others emerge from conditions in a given situation. This study gives a cross-section of the issues involved in the development of higher education in Bermuda. The issues are presented according to the specific ones encountered in each of the four cases presented which deal with problems in values, and with religious, ethical, political, identity, financial and racial concerns. The issues are explored in the context of societal influences, customs, and practices. A summary of the issues is given at the end of each relevant chapter.

CHAPTER I

THE PROLOGUE

Historical Background: the Setting

The milieu of the late years of the reign of Elizabeth I (1580-1603) fostered a great liberal movement for the spread of English freedom and of the English empire. Elizabethans looked forward to the time of England's greatness at home, in Europe, and in the New World--especially North America.

Much progress had been made in achieving the first two objectives. In England, a strong sense of nationalism emerged which was highlighted by the defeat of Spain's Armada in 1588. The defeat marked the decline of Spanish might and set the stage for the naval supremacy of England. However, by the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1603, the third objective seemed as distant as ever. England had not succeeded in planting one permanent settlement in North America. The transient colony which Sir Walter Raleigh had established at Roanoke in 1584 had vanished without a trace.¹

For over twenty years, since Raleigh's Roanoke experiment, efforts at establishing English colonies in North America were impeded.

¹Alexander Brown, The Genesis of the United States, 2 vols. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), 1:19; David Beers Quinn, ed., The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955; Los Angeles: Images Enterprises, Ultrafiche LAC 20750-55), 2:793.



SIR GEORGE SOMERS

By VAN SOMER

*Original now in the possession of the
Bermuda Historical Society*

Yet the English never relinquished their objective for splendid memories of the Elizabethan dream of creating an empire in North America still stirred men's hearts and they determined to pursue the goal until they succeeded.¹

The opportunities for fulfilling the third objective were enhanced by the emergence of aggressive entrepreneurial groups. Cantor stated:

Steadily there came into power a new and landed gentry with the canny bourgeois temperament to survive and prosper . . . Entrepreneurs who having stunningly applied reason to economics, proceeded with equal success to apply nationality to politics . . .² thus setting the stage for international trade and immigration.

In 1604 Raleigh and a group of London merchants organized a large stock company for the purpose of founding a colony. They secured from James I a grant known as the Charter of 1604 or the First Virginia Charter. This company was a commercial enterprise created primarily for financial gain. They chose "an admirable vehicle for private enterprise": a commercial outpost with little or no family structure, controlled by adventurers in search of wealth and populated by men committed primarily to plunder and to production.³

Colorful accounts of the voyages undertaken, persuasive sermons, and excitement at the sight of strange people, the Indians, spread "the Virginia fever" and stimulated interest in overseas settlement. In April 1606, James I granted his petitioners of London and

¹Brown, 1:3-17; Willis Mason West, History of the American People (New York: Allyn & Bacon, 1918), pp. 10-15.

²Norman L. Cantor, The English: A History of Politics and Society to 1760 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), p. 320.

³Brown, 1:32-38; "Rich Papers," manuscript, Bermuda Archives, p. 65; Susan Kingsbury, comp., The Records of the Virginia Company of London (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906), p. 14.

Plymouth, letters patent "to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America, commonly called Virginia . . . being all along the sea coasts, between 34°N and 45°N and the islands adjacent or without."¹

By 1606 a precarious footing had been made in Virginia. This remained to be secured. Sharp differences among the Adventurers with regard to the means and methods of securing it repeatedly threatened the complete undoing of the work there. The colony had not proved as lucrative as had been expected. Interest in the experiment was declining. The spirit of adventure needed new stimulation by the promise of a new objective. Yet, Virginia, the only enterprise that had survived must not be abandoned. The colonists must receive relief and encouragement. It was in this uncertain state of affairs that the hand of Providence pointed to the Bermuda Islands.²

The Settlement of Bermuda

The Virginia Company, confronted with the prospects of another crisis, sought to reverse the trend. They recognized that a more efficient system of administration was an urgent need. They requested a new charter in 1609. The king promptly granted them new 'Letters Patent' giving them greater privileges and powers. The Charter incorporated the Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London with all the authority of the former patentees. The territorial

¹Brown, 1:52-53; Great Britain, Public Records Office, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1660 (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1860), 1:5 (hereafter cited as CSP); idem, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1917), 8:515.

²CSP, 1:5.

jurisdiction was extended to 1,000,000 square miles. The organizational structure of the Company was also changed. The government was vested in one strong and competent governor. Five hundred men with their families and servants were sent out "to take fast hold and root in that land." The prospects of a permanent settlement seemed favorable.¹

The colonists proved incapable of resisting the rigors of the climate, the hostility of the Indians, and the primitive life-style. Reports from Virginia brought little encouragement. In a further effort to save the colony, the Company decided to send provisions and more settlers for the languishing colony. A fleet of nine ships, under the command of Sir George Somers, a veteran of the Spanish Main, left Plymouth Harbour, England, on June 8, 1609. The mariners knew from experience that violent storms were frequently encountered in the Atlantic. They felt, however, that the voyage would be uneventful as they were leaving before the stormy seasons.²

All went well for a time, until

. . . a dreadful and hideous storm began to blow from out the northeast . . . which swelling and roaring as it were by fits . . . at length did bit all light from heaven. The relentless fury of the storm continued for four days and . . . we would all then have perished but see the goodness of God. The morning ³was three quarters spent and no one dreamed of salvation.

Sir George Somers, the admiral of the fleet, gave this account:

¹Brown, 1:206-240; CSP 1574, pp. 8-9; "R.1." [Robert Johnson], Nova Britannia (London: Samuel Macham, 1609).

²William Strachey, A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight . . . Upon and From the Islands of Bermuda (London: Hakluyt Society, 1612), pp. 3-4.

³Ibid., p. 4.

When our energy was spent and hopes had faded suddenly 'we saw the Island of Bermuda, where our ship liethe upon the rocke, a quarter of a mile distaant from the shoare wheare wee saved all our lives and afterwards saved much of our goodes, but all our bread was wet, and lost. We continued in this Iland, from the 28th Julie until the 10 of Maie in which time we built II (2) small Barkes (Patience and Deliverance) to carrie our people to Virginia which in₁ number whare 140 men and women at the coming to the Iland.

Bermuda was thus accidentally 'settled' by the British. It has retained its status as a British colony up to the present time.

How the castaways on Bermuda occupied their time during their stay is a very interesting story; however, it is beyond the scope of this study. This historic landing of the English laid the foundations of the Bermuda society. The assets to the new colony, Bermuda, and its development are considered under the following settings: physical, ethnic, political, and social.

Physical Setting

Bermuda is a mini-state comprised of an isolated group of over 300 small islands situated in the Western Atlantic Ocean at approximately 32° north latitude and 64° west longitude. The group of islands lies 700 miles east of Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, the nearest point on the North American Continent. An important feature is its location. It lies almost equidistant from the major western nations--USA, Canada, and the European western seaboard and the Caribbean islands.²

¹Brown, 1:400-402; Sir George Somers to the Earl of Salisbury, 20 June 1610, quoted in J. Lefroy, Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Isles, 1515-1685, 2 vols. (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Historical Society & Bermuda National Trust, 1981), 1:10-11.

²Richard Norwood, Book of the Survey of Bermuda, 1662-3 (Hamilton, Bermuda: Right Honorable the Governor and Company for These Islands, anno 1662-1663), title page.

Lying in the path of the romantic sounding 'Spanish Main' during the days of the pirates, adventurers and traders, it frequently served as a watering place for ships laden with the treasures which tempted the marauders of the sea.¹ As Jourdain, also a passenger on the Sea Venture described, the name "Devil Isles" as commonly applied to Bermuda by sixteenth-century seamen denoted a place

. . . never inhabited by any Christian or heathen people but ever esteemed and reputed a most prodigious and enchanted place, affording nothing but gust, storms and foul weather, which made every navigator and mariner to avoid them . . . as they would shun the Devil himself.²

Bermuda has long been famous as a "gateway to and from continental Europe as the major commercial axis for trade." It currently supports a network of routes--sea, air, and space--linking the important centers of the world. This crescent-shaped island is under the influence of the westerlies and the Gulf Streams. These features combine to create an ameliorating climate. The climate is characteristically Bermudian--a modification of the Mediterranean type of climate with its hot, dry summers and cool, wet winters. The prevailing westerlies produce frequent gales. In the earlier history it was dreaded for the violent storms which devastated the islands on several occasions. This partially accounts for the fact that the sailors and mariners of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries avoided the islands.

¹CSP 1574, pp. 14, 28; "Manchester Manuscripts," Bermuda Archives, no. 384, p. 47; Peter Force, Tracts and Other Papers Relating to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America (New York: Peter Smith, 1844), vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 10-11.

²Silvester Jourdain, A Discovery of the Bermudas, Otherwise Called the Isle of Devils (London: John Windet, 1610), p. 6. Jourdain's narrative was the first published account of the disaster; see Peter Force, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 10-11.

The westerlies also provided abundant rain, with the maximum precipitation usually occurring in the winter.¹

Structure

The geologic structure of the islands consists primarily of coral rocks and limestone which form a cap on the basic structure of the islands, the crater of an extinct volcano. The numerous swamps and caves, the long stretching bays and lagoons, the spits and other phenomena of the landscape give the islands a unique diversity which enhances its charm and appeal. Adding to this attractiveness is the superimposition of a human culture, uniquely colorful and diversified and traditionally rich.²

Vegetation

When Bermuda was first discovered it was densely covered with virgin cedars and palmetto palms.³ The famous Bermuda cedar dominated the landscape until the 1940s when a blight attacked and destroyed virtually all of the trees. The cedars were replaced by casurinas, poplars, and evergreens. An effort by government to seek to salvage those cedars that remained is proving successful.

The early agricultural prosperity of the islands is especially

¹John Smith, Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles . . . from Their First Beginning Anno 1584 to This Present 1624, 2 vols. (London: Michael Sparkes, 1624), 1:296-297; Strachey, p. 7.

²Smith, Generall Historie, p. 297; Wreford J. Watson, John Oliver, and C. M. Foggo, A Geography of Bermuda (London: William Collins, 1965), pp. 14-17.

³Jourdain, p. 19; Smith, Generall Historie, p. 298; Strachey, p. 21.

due to a virgin soil of great fertility and a moderate climate which facilitates the successful introduction of a large variety of trees and plants from various countries. Tobacco, cotton, sugarcane, arrowroot, potatoes, and the famous Bermuda onion all flourished abundantly until the lucrative tourist trade supplanted the agricultural supremacy.¹

The glowing accounts of the islands of Bermuda that were given by the survivors of the Sea Venture turned the tide of prejudice against Bermuda into more positive currents. The islands were not sought as an ideal spot for emigrants.

Population

A flair of interest in migrating to Bermuda was created. Many especially among the lower class grasped the opportunity to start a new life in a new and different environment. The majority of these came as servants. Lefroy indicated that the term implied an individual whose passage was paid in whole or in part by an adventurer. In return he would work for a stipulated time, usually four or five years for an adult and longer for a minor. On being released from his contract he became a freeman. An 'indentured servant' had a special contract or indenture. This system of exchanging the cost of the passage and outfit for a few years of labor was the principal method of populating the English colonies.²

¹CSP 1574, pp. 18, 246; Kingsbury, pp. 413, 499; Lefroy, 1:225, 315, 521; Rich, pp. 14, 42, 57, 82; Smith, Generall Historie, 1:363, 365.

²Lefroy, 1:165, 350; Mary Stanard, ed., The Story of Virginia's First Century, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1928), 1:156-160; CSP 1681-1685, p. 435; Lefroy, 1:165, 350; Rich, pp. 10, 20, 44.

There was a wide range in status among 'servants.' A servant might be of any class, from poor gentleman to convicted felon. The average servant was a respectable young person who could not afford the expenses of the journey. During the term of service the servant learned to grow tobacco and other crops; he usually learned a trade. Lefroy stated that in Bermuda a modified form of plantation was practiced and many servants including Negroes became proficient in many trades. Some maidservants were employed in the master's house as house servants; others were dairy maids or worked alongside the men in the fields.¹ Below these respectable members of the servant class were ex-rebels, kidnapped persons, and convicts. The practice of transporting prisoners taken during the war became very popular; however, because of its size and economy not many were sent to Bermuda.² There was the occasion when, in July 1657, a ship brought seventeen Irish rebels to Bermuda to be sold as slaves. These were the first white slaves in Bermuda. A John Darrell bought them at fourteen pounds each. He soon sold them at a much higher price. "These men did not take kindly to their enslaved condition and refused to work and made so much trouble that their owners were glad to get rid of them before the expiry of the seven years."³

Some dominant personalities also migrated to Bermuda.⁴ Among them were some of the Adventurers themselves, their relatives, friends, and retainers, who either migrated permanently or remained there

¹Lefroy, 1:115-116; Rich, pp. 28, 35; Stanard, p. 156.

²Brown, 1:682; CSP 1574, p. 363.

³Lefroy, 2:100, 103.

⁴Rich, pp. 38, 55; Smith, Generall Historie, 1:352.

long enough to have a direct influence on the development of the colony. (See appendix A for the list of the original Adventurers.)

Political Setting

Moore's Administration

Every effort was made to ensure the success of the experiment. The Commission granted to Governor Moore was very detailed. He was instructed to be very mindful of performing religious duties regularly and sincerely. Fortifications were to be erected for the safety of the colony, a storehouse was to be built to safeguard provisions, and houses were to be erected. Each man was to be allotted some land. A single man was entitled to one rood of ground; a married man was to receive two roods. The Company's employees were to receive reasonable daily wages either in produce or in money (the hog penny or coin). Though they were not expecting great returns at so early a time, they requested him only "to send us some fruits of your labors to give encouragement to the adventurers . . . especially of pearl, ambergreece, tobacco, silk, or oil arising by whale fishing."¹

Lefroy stated that for effective administration six assistants were chosen "to advise and determine all matters whatsoever . . . presented for the good of the plantation." The administrators were to be of good repute and such civil behavior, that "there shall be no cause of punishment found among them, but all to apply themselves and best endeavors to the glory of God and good of the plantation and undertakers in whose service they are employed."²

¹Lefroy, 1:60.

²Ibid., 1:21, 59.

Moore pursued his assignment with vigor. Hard work was vital to the survival of the colony and he set the men to work establishing the necessary fortifications and facilities. The settlers became discontented with the harsh rule and accused him of being "a Pharaoh." Other problems plagued his term of office. The Adventurers were becoming impatient about the small returns of tobacco and ambergreece. They continued to send out settlers, however, and by the following year five hundred settlers had arrived. The attempt of two Spanish ships to land, the terrible famine, the devastation caused by the rats which had been accidentally brought in by the relief boat, and the decision to discontinue the building of fortifications all contributed to Moore's increasing unpopularity with the company and with the colonists.¹ Moore was blamed for the woes that befell the colony. In due time the Welcome arrived in the colony with supplies and provisions. According to Lefroy, Master Moore

. . . seeing that they had not sent for him, his time being now expired, understanding how badly they reputed him in England, and that his employment now was more for their own ends than any₂ good for himself, resolved directly to return with the ship.

Having made the arrangements for the administration of the colony, he set sail for England in 1615.

The Bermuda Company

The little colony of Bermuda presented many problems for the Virginia Company. Though some of the members were still optimistic about the plantation, others were dissatisfied and advocated change.

¹CSP 1574, p. 15; Lefroy, 1:72-77; Smith, Generall Historie, 1:354-355.

²Lefroy, 1:77; Smith, Generall Historie, 1:355.

They sought "further security for the colony in which they had already placed so many men and so much money."¹

The proposed reorganization of the Virginia Company included the suggestion of forming a separate company for the administration of Bermuda. The plan seemed acceptable. Accordingly, for these 'diverse and sundrie good and waightie causes,' the Virginia Company resigned Bermuda with all their rights and privileges to the Crown on November 23, 1614. It was not King James' policy to undertake direct administration of the plantations. Several of the Adventurers were interested in obtaining a new charter. The Adventurers of Bermuda, as they were called, received "letters patent" incorporating them into a company. One hundred eighteen members formed this new Company.² The Bermuda Charter of June 1615, signed at Westminster, issued

. . . a grant to Henry Earl of Southampton Lucy Countess of Bedford, Sir Robert Rich and others, of incorporation by the name of the Governor and Company of the City of London for the plantation of the Somers Islands with the sole government and power to make laws conformable to the laws of England.³

Under the terms of the tenure all royalties were reserved. A much more effective organizational system was implemented. One able governor appointed by the Company was elected. He had almost absolute powers. He was to be assisted by an assistant and twenty-four under-assistants for managing the general business and affairs for

¹"Rawlinson Manuscripts," Bermuda Archives, D764.

²Brown, 2:754-755; Lefroy, 1:85-100; Henry C. Wilkinson, The Adventurers of Bermuda (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 74-76.

³CSP 1574, p. 17, 92; Lefroy, 1:83; Rawlinson, D764.

and concerning the said Somer Islands. A monthly court or assembly was to be convened (or more often if the need arose) for the better ordering and direction of the affairs of the plantation. A general meeting was to be held on the last Wednesday of the Hillary, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas terms. Twenty-four assistants were to be nominated to assist the General Assembly. The Assembly had been invested with power to make laws and to make "with all convenient speed . . . a just and equal division of the said Islands and of the lands and other Commodities." One part not exceeding a fourth part of the said Islands "shall be allotted and reserved to the said Governor and Company in common for the maintenance and defraying of general and public charges." The rest of the islands were to be divided into eight several parts or tribes, each tribe containing fifty shares. The balance of the charter described the terms of citizenship and taxation.¹

The First Governor for the Bermuda Company

The new company, the Somers Island or the Bermuda Company, chose Captain Daniel Tucker as its first governor. It was the consensus that his agricultural skills could be a great asset in boosting the colony's productivity. Determined to prove his leadership ability and the island's potential, Governor Tucker used every means at his disposal to keep the colony alive. The chief intent of the Bermuda Company was to make the venture a success. Tobacco had become the principal industry and they sought to make it more lucrative and competitive.²

¹Lefroy, 1:98; Norwood, p. 11; Smith, Generall Historie, 1:368-374.

²CSP 1574, pp. 18, 63, 91, 378; "Manchester Manuscripts," pp. 31-33 passim; Rich, pp. 60-63.

Experts in the field were needed. Blacks and Indians had expert knowledge in the field and they were a viable source of cheap labor. In 1616, the ship Edwin was sent to the 'Savage Islands' (possibly the Bahamas) to get for the plantation "cattle, cassadoe, sugar-cane, negroes to dive for pearles, and what other plants are there to be had."¹ During this initial period, blacks and Indians "were not slaves, but indentured servants lending their skills to economic undertakings."²

Social Setting

Introduction to Slavery

The first blacks held the same status as white indentured servants. However, their black color and high visibility made them stand out as something different and they were treated as sub-human . . . by the white slave-owners . . . in order to justify their actions.

The institution of slavery was thus introduced into Bermuda and with it came a new element in the social fabric.

It was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain servants from Europe despite the great demand. Blacks and Indians were sought to supply the lack. They were brought from the West Indies, sold as slaves by destitute sailors and passengers, or even given to marines to be sold as payment for a successful journey.⁴ This trade in human souls which deprived men of their dignity and their "power

¹Lefroy, 1:115-116; Rich, pp. 13-14, 22, 29.

²"British Historical Manuscripts Commission VIII," 2:34-35 (hereafter cited as HMC); Lefroy, 1:379-384.

³CSP 1689-1692, p. 9.

⁴Brown, 1:398-400; CSP 1574, p. 247; Great Britain, Parliament, Journals of the House of Commons, 16 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Offices), 1:579.

akin to that of the Creator--individuality"¹ functioned as a long-standing and generally accepted practice. John Wesley declared it to be "the execrable sum of all villanies . . . that infinitely exceeds in every instance of barbarism, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mohametan [sic] countries."² The story of slavery, not only in Bermuda but throughout the world, is one of struggles of dehumanizing experiences against the background of the struggle to be free. In time the slaves were emancipated; however, the ideological struggle which was precipitated by such a practice is still very strong and as a divisive force threatens to destroy the very fabric of societies throughout the world.

Migration Problems

The initial wave of enthusiasm was past and migration began to lose its appeal. At the same time there was still the desire for places to which the 'surcharge of necessitous people' could be sent. Most of those of "good inheritance of blood" were of the opinion that only a very little work befitted them. Labor was becoming scarce. Many of the settlers thought that they were on a perpetual holiday, idleness abounded despite Governor Tucker's efforts to discourage it. The general plan was that everyone would work in a joint or common stock for three years, at the end of which the net profits would be

¹E. G. White, Education (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1903), p. 17.

²John Wesley, The Journal of John Wesley (1772) (London: Epworth Press, 1938), pp. 445-446.

³CSP 1661-1668, p. 160.

equally divided among the settlers and the Adventurers. The settlers would be supplied with goods, clothes, and other necessities.¹ Individuals were entitled to land ownership, however, no one could hold more than fifteen shares. By special permission this amount could be increased to twenty shares. This arrangement tended to discourage individual effort and 'stultified the colony' in many respects.

The Company sent out 200 settlers for the common land who were the labor force of the colony. Each morning they assembled for prayers, then they pursued the various activities of the day: working on forts or in the town, clearing and planting the ground, fishing, hunting for pearls and ambergris, or any other endeavor. Often much more time was spent in building fortifications against the ever imminent Spanish attack to the neglect of the planting of crops.²

The struggle for survival was intense. Little time was available for leisure or for cultural and intellectual pursuits; however, amidst great difficulties and hardships they sought to adapt to the new life-style. It was evident that a new culture and a new society was emerging; religious, political, intellectual, and social customs were being articulated and fixed.

Migration to and from Bermuda progressed steadily during the century; by 1684, the end of the Bermuda Company's era, Governor Robert Robinson reported to Whitehall, the colonial office in England, that the total population was approximately 8,500 persons of whom one-third were slaves. The first detailed report on population figures

¹Rich, pp. 17, 32; Smith, Generall Historie, 1:358.

²CSP 1574, p. 301; Lefroy, 1:141-143.

in 1691, showed that there were 4,331 whites and 1,917 slaves.¹ By the end of the century (1699) the Black population was 2,247 out of a total of 5,862--almost half of the total population living in Bermuda.²

These pioneers, thrown on their own resources, obtained a sound practical education through contact with the primitive conditions to which they had been subjected. They developed a spirit in independence and of industry, or perseverance and adaptability, which enhanced Bermuda's appeal as an overseas possession and enriched the economy of the nation.³

The Bermudians by 1700

Who were the Bermudians of the 1700s? Within a generation Bermuda had a fair proportion of good representative citizens. A system of social stratification was emerging. It basically consisted of four strata of planters, a rising and progressive upper class, tenants on half shares, group of middle class including both upper and lower and those of the lowest class. The upper class included the Adventurers themselves, captains, employees of the East India Company, junior officers who had served in the Netherlands, and independent farmers. These men were the executives or managers of the plantation. Among the original founders were some of the nobility of England, like Sir Nathaniel Rich, the Ferrars, and Sir Edwin Sandys.⁴ Few of these survived until 1684. Among their direct descendants were those who

¹CSP 1689-1692, p. 442.

²CSP 1699, p. 146.

³CSP 1681-1685, p. 301; Wilkinson, Adventurers, pp. 383-384.

⁴Rich, pp. 1, 17, 20, 28.

would gain eminence in the island. Already many of the outstanding personalities, primarily of tenants on half-shares, of middle class were rising to wealth and power. This class was composed primarily of tenants on half-shares and formed but a small majority of the white inhabitants of Bermuda around 1684.¹ Lower down the social scale were the indentured servants and apprentices. The black population presented a large variety of settlers ranging from Negroes, mulattoes, Indians, Mustees, Quarterons, or other slaves. There were also a small group of freed blacks. There were relatively few settlers of the lowest class. "'Divers' of the worst who did come in the early days, soon died of their own improvidence."² In general most of the white early settlers were of the middle class; they were rather conservative and had brought with them a rich heritage which the Adventurers insisted was to be faithfully duplicated.³ Most of the aspects of this heritage were immediately reproduced "not with quite the Tudor pomp, but nevertheless with a considerable degree of ceremony and self-importance."⁴

The white population was generally unified and homogeneous since they were basically of the same national origin. The slaves and indentured servants were subjects of the British empire at least in their country of origin; however, they were not included as inhabitants in the census returns for the colony. The majority of the people

¹Lefroy, 1:115-116; Rich, pp. 13-14, 22, 29-31.

²Lefroy, 1:351; Rich, pp. 36-37.

³CSP 1689, p. 443; Wilkinson, Adventurers, pp. 96-99.

⁴Ibid., p. 100.

were members of the Church of England.¹ They were expected to be defenders of the faith and "to stand in defense of the same against all Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, Brownists, and all other Heretics and Sectaries whatsoever, dissenting from the said Word and Faith."²

The Bermudians generally adhered to the faith but though there were relatively few open conflicts within the established church, considerable individuality in preference of worship was being developed. One dissident group started a religious upheaval which shook the whole colony. Lefroy stated that Rev. Nathaniel White and the venerable Rev. Patrick Copeland initiated the "Independent Church" in 1634. These clergymen "acknowledg[ed] themselves to be but private men, yet so as they held themselves to be a church of themselves; and would be ready to receive into their covenant such as would submit thereto."³ They thus renounced the Church of England for one of their own making. They experienced a measure of success. However, these two clergymen being constantly rebuffed by the Company and the clergy masterminded an elaborate plan to migrate to Eleutheria in the Bahamas and form a colony in which "all religious beliefs would be put on a parity, neither preferring or penalizing anyone."⁴

The religious problems which plagued the colony also involved the Quakers who though described as "an unarmed and peaceloving

¹Rich, pp. 36, 56-58.

²Lefroy, 1:63; Rich, pp. 32-34.

³Ibid., p. 384; Capt. Josias Fforster to the Honorable Company of Adventurers for the Somers Is., 7 September 1650, "Wonder Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England," in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, series II, vol. 2, chap. II, p. 30.

⁴Lefroy, 1:653-654, 663.

group, who were about as harmless as subjects could be" were resolutely denounced for their refusal to take the required oaths and their contempt of authority. They were forbidden to land in the colony under penalty of fine or imprisonment. Those already living in the colony received no redress for infringements on their rights.¹

But one of the most divisive factors in the Church was the problem of slavery. One persistent problem was whether a slave possessed a soul and, if so, whether christianizing would render the incumbent unfit for servitude. The compatibility of slavery with Christianity was too tortuous a question. It was the general feeling that slaves could attend the parish churches; that much was allowed by Holy Writ. Some with humanitarian tendencies went a step further and gave permission to baptize children born into slavery. The governor also proclaimed that slaves should be granted every rite of the Church for good Christians would be good whether masters or slaves. This vexing question persisted until the Emancipation of the slaves in 1834; and even later into the twentieth century.²

Summary

This chapter has shown how the colony of Bermuda originated as a British settlement under a unique set of circumstances connected with the efforts of the English to establish colonists in continental North America during the seventeenth century. The colony possessed many natural endowments that enhanced its attraction and appeal and

¹Sampson Bond, A Publick Triall of the Quakers (Boston: John Bringhurst, 1678).

²Cyril Outerbridge Packwood, Chained on the Rock (New York: Eliseo Torres, 1975), p. 197.

migration to the colony continued throughout the century. By the end of the seventeenth century the community was composed of a white population primarily of English settlers and a Negro slave element. Though the English still clung to many features of their cultural heritage, it was evident that a new culture with its unique characteristics was emerging. How the colonists combined natural endowment, physical and moral strength in developing their community and the implications of this synthesis for higher education in Bermuda forms the basis of the discussion in the following chapters of this study.

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH HERITAGE

Introduction

Schools affect and are affected by the social group they serve. Since the social group must depend on some institutionalization of educational practice, it gives the school the central charge of effective socialization and acculturation of its members. Therefore, a study of the history of higher education in Bermuda can best be understood in relation to social demands and aspirations. In group life social heredity is vital to social stability. A knowledge of the past is particularly relevant to an understanding of the educational policies and practices of contemporary society as society seeks viable solutions to its problems.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a review of the major factors that influenced the development of higher education in Bermuda during the seventeenth century. It discusses the religious and intellectual aspects of the heritage the English pioneers received from their homeland. It also shows how the slave population became part of that society. It presents an account of the efforts made during this century to appropriate some features of the English heritage. Finally, the chapter examines the religious, political, and social issues that inhibited the establishment of an institution of higher learning.

This brief analysis should enable the reader to get a better perspective of the origins of higher education in Bermuda. It should provide some insights into the problems that had to be confronted in every century, in the persistent quest to provide opportunities for higher education in Bermuda. It was this persistence that gave others the courage to initiate further efforts to appropriate the legacy.

The Content and Quality of the Intellectual Legacy

Bermuda "derived from England not merely its blood and sinews but also a cultural heritage of vast importance. From this source came the experience of past ages in the form of beliefs, ideals, superstitions, and habits of living, all firmly fixed in the folk-ways of the English people." It is true that the early settlers came from all parts of England, rural and urban and that they represented different strata of society, that they had different religious beliefs and that they belonged to both the ignorant and the learned classes. These insignificant differences are of minor importance when balanced against the fact that all, or nearly all, were children of a common tradition.¹

England had a great deal to offer as a legacy. Doubtless the most important intellectual legacy was that of a common language and of a rich literature. The strong surge of nationalism which was experienced during the era swept away the old dialects. The English language which had made little progress as a literary tongue suddenly developed an enormous vigor and productivity. A common language emerged which fostered a homogenous culture. There was growing pride in and appreciation for the English language as a means of expression.²

¹Stuart Noble, American Education (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1954), p. 3-4.

²A. L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth (London: MacMillan, 1964), p. viii.

The enthusiasm for the English language was echoed by the remarkable and progressive schoolmaster, Mulcaster. He envisioned the time when

There would be enough knowledge and books of every kind in English for education to be in and through our own tongue . . . a tongue of itself both deep in conceit and frank in delivery. I do not think that any language--be it whatsoever --is better able to utter all arguments, either with more pith or greater plainness than our English tongue . . . I favor Italy, but England more. I know Latin, but I worship in English.

The movement for more effective schools and for the introduction of English into the curriculum extended to most areas of England. It was primarily the social response of the middle class to the changing order. They desired an education in their mother tongue which would equip them to obtain and maintain their social dignity and their practical competence. The number of English grammar schools and elementary schools increased rapidly.²

The revival of interest in education made its impact on the content and organizational structure of the colleges. It favored the use of English both as a medium of instruction and as a subject worthy of study in itself. The traditional "classical" curriculum gradually gave way to a more diversified one in which English was emphasized. Latin was still a flexible language and still widely used, but the innovative teacher could utilize various teaching methods to develop literary taste and stimulate current interests.³

¹Richard Mulcaster, Positions (1581) (New York: Teachers College Press, 1971), pp. 257-258.

²Rowse, p. 347.

³William Harrison, Elizabethan England (London: W. Scott, 1889), p. 67.

The central change in the organizational structure came about with the development of colleges. It became mandatory that all residents at the university belonged to a college. Undergraduates were admitted at a much earlier age--usually from thirteen to sixteen. The normal length of the course was increased. Many of the innovations were unpopular, yet the reformers persevered and succeeded in their efforts to create a new order.¹

The rhythm of change was also observable in the literature and drama. The contribution of literary geniuses like Dryden, Pope, Johnson, Milton, and Bunyan established England as the literary center of the world. The literature was rich and powerful. The appeal with which the Elizabethan authors and dramatists portrayed the English language lured the world to adopt English as the international language. Its universal acceptance was further enhanced by its positive effects on religion. As English replaced Latin there was an increasing demand for the Bible in the mother tongue.² Thus King James' immortal gift to posterity, the translation of the Bible into English, made a significant contribution to fostering the intellectual revolution. His edict of 1611 "ordered a translation of the Bible out of the original tongues: and with the former translations diligently compared and revised by His Majesty's special command."³

¹Rowse, p. 354.

²Ibid., p. 354.

³The Holy Bible (KJV) (Cambridge: The University Printing House, n.d.), title page.

The Religious Legacy

The enthronement of the English Bible as a new literary work provided yet another symbol of unity. The Bible was characteristically English and cherished as such. It played a decisive role in restoring equilibrium to the Elizabethan society. The Elizabeth Church with its complex problems succeeded in the end, for Elizabeth was astute enough to blend "the maximum amount of unity for the English people that could be combined with probably the greatest amount of liberty of opinion that was possible in the circumstances."¹

In the new order, the Queen was the Supreme Head of Church and State. The Church no longer dictated the policies of the country; Elizabeth ruled both Church and State. Elizabeth astutely tried to keep a middle line. She made it clear that it was not her purpose to interfere with men's conscience, yet it was her duty to maintain order in the interests of society. Through her middle-of-the-road policy, the Elizabethan Church proved itself sufficiently acceptable to most moderates.² The new Church regained its equilibrium and, during the reign of James I, succeeded in exerting an influence that was so pervasive that it permeated every fibre of private and social life. Commenting on this pervasive influence, Noble stated:

It lent color to literature, it tintured music and art; it controlled the trend of political events, it furnished the motive for education and determined the course of instruction offered in the schools. All classes of society, from nobility to yeoman and tradesman, shared this interest in religion.³

¹Rowse, p. 387.

²Ibid., p. 437.

³Noble, p. 13.

One of the motives for establishing schools was the desire for religious instruction. Elementary school provided "the saving grace of literacy for the masses." Secondary and higher institutions trained leaders for church and state. The youth, especially the boys, had to learn to read in order to read the Bible. The Church provided schools for those who lacked educational opportunities. Numerous "petty" or "vernacular" schools sprang up to meet this growing demand for education. It was considered the duty as well as the right of the church to ensure that the content of the education was not contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England.¹

James I extended the policies on religious faith, which had been prescribed by Henry VIII and Elizabeth, to the field of education. In 1604 the church drew up and Parliament enacted regulations which forbade anyone to teach who had not declared his acceptance of the doctrines of the established church and secured a schoolmaster's license from the Bishop of London. The duties of the teacher were carefully defined. They were: to give the pupils thorough grounding in the catechism; to take them to church on holy days and to question them later on what they had learned from the sermon; to instruct them on other days by means of texts from the Holy Scriptures. After the Restoration, an Act of Uniformity of 1662 required all heads of schools and all teachers, even the tutors in private homes, to conform to the liturgy of the Church of England. Failure to obey meant loss of office and of the right to teach.

The policies adopted during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign

¹C. E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1968), pp. 38-39.

helped to pave the way for expanding opportunities for enterprise and the speculative activity which characterized the reign of the early Stuarts. Prosperity was no longer confined to the nobility. A progressive and shrewd "middle class" emerged which embraced the opportunity to acquire wealth and to achieve upward mobility. Many of the nobles were displaced and considerable diverse elements were recruited from the yeomanry. The freeholders and leasehold tenants also benefited from the movement. Those who occupied the lowest rung of the social structure--vagrants, vagabonds, and poor people--abounded everywhere "squeezed out by the pressure of economic forces which they could feel if they could not conceive."¹ The rise of the gentry, however, was the dominant feature of Elizabethan society. As Rowse stated, "It was they who essentially changed things, who launched out along new paths, whether at home or overseas, who achieved what was achieved; who gave what all societies need--leadership . . . who gave it its character and did its work."² On the lowest rung of the hierarchical ladder were the small farmers, the cottagers and laborers, servants, and the slaves. Whether ruler or peasant, these were all bound together for economic necessities on the land, though economic interests were becoming more diversified.

The social upheaval of the age was well understood and generally accepted. It not only lay the foundation of social and educational structure, but it also acted as a stimulus to individuals to spread the gospel through education.

¹Rowse, p. 283.

²Ibid., p. 223.

An Attempt to Provide Higher Education

It was the tireless zeal, self-sacrifice, and heroism of the English in their general eagerness to spread the gospel among the savage Indians that motivated them to seek to provide an education for them. Education, or at least the rearing and training of Indian youths, was considered, from the first, the best method by which their conversion could be achieved. This was the design that influenced the establishment of a college at Henrico, the first projected college in the New World to be founded by the English.¹

The Indians were not wholly unpromising pupils. They were credited with many good qualities--among them retentive memories. "However, as a result of their training in the lore of healing and of the supernatural, they were jealously opposed to invading rivals who taught another creed and challenged their security."² Besides, the colonists had a strange language which they tried to impose on the Indians and which they found difficult to master. When the colonists took "the trouble to live with the Indians and understand their ways they found them inferior to none, and superior to many in firmness and integrity of character."³

The Europeans had invaded their land. They were determined to make permanent settlements and the Indians firmly resisted this intense European pressure. The massacre of the whites at Henrico

¹Robert Hunt Land, "Henrico and Its College," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, vol. 10, 1938, pp. 473-476.

²Morison, p. 15.

³Ibid., p. 15.

and other parts of the colony of Virginia was one of the most devastating attacks made by the Indians who sought revenge on the usurpers of their land.

The Henrico project was very important in the relationships between the Indians and the English. Henrico was the site chosen for "planting of a college for the training up of the Children of those Infidels in true Religion moral virtue and Civility and for other uses."¹

Patrons of Learning

Among those who were closely connected with the project was Rev. Patrick Copeland. He wielded his influence as a member of the Virginia Company and of the Bermuda Company for many years. He was "very zealous for the conversion of the infidel natives of America."² His deep interest in education earned him the position of Rector of the projected college at Henrico. The plan had received a temporary set back, but Copeland was determined that it should be revived. It was becoming increasingly apparent that the English could no longer ignore the educational problems of the New World.

Copeland had been an advocate of educating the Indians. He had initiated the raising of funds for the East India School in Charles City which was designed to be "a Collegiate or free schoole having dependence upon the Colledge [sic] in Virginia." The money that he had received for this purpose was later given to him to assist him in promoting his Bermuda plan. The sum was inadequate and he had neither the means nor the public support which was required to

¹William and Mary Quarterly, p. 475.

²Edward D. Neill, Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copeland (New York: Charles Scribner, 1871), p. vii.

implement his plans. He needed the right men--energetic men with means--to give the incentive and to enhance its success. "There still remained a small remnant of men of better spirit who had either benefited from a better education or had heard of it from others."¹

These men comprised the moving spirits of the Virginia Company. The group included Sir Edwin Sandys, the president of the Company (after whom one of the parishes in Bermuda is named); Nicholas Ferrar, the deputy governor of the company; and Sir Nathaniel Rich, an enthusiastic manager of the Bermuda Company.² He unfolded his plan to them. He proposed that since "the Indian could not be approached educationally on his own territory, they should transfer the site of their project to Bermuda and their dealings to the Bermuda Company."³

Confronting Difficulties

Assured of the vital support for the project from his supporters, Copeland proceeded to Bermuda at the invitation of the Bermuda Company. He was to assume the rectorship of Warwick and Paget. He left London, accompanied by his wife and daughter in 1625. He arrived in Bermuda in 1626, with the purpose of establishing a free school⁴ "for the bringing up of the youth in literature and good

¹Ibid., p. 90.

²Rich, pp. 4, 10, 18; Wilkinson, Adventurers, pp. 239-241.

³William and Mary Quarterly, pp. 475-476.

⁴Lefroy, 1:376, 697; Neill, p. 91; Wilkinson, Adventurers, p. 199.

learning."¹ He hoped to make Bermuda a haven of learning. He would establish first a free school and later a seminary since at that time "the logical procedure in establishing an educational system was to inaugurate the secondary and then to build the higher branch."² He acquired lands which he intended for the seminary for training the local youth and as a place of education for missionaries for the conversion of the Indians of Virginia. He experienced a great deal of difficulty at the local level. His motion at a Council session elicited the response from Governor Woodhouse that the Council

. . . thought [it] expedient that at Mr. Copeland's request 'the common lands in the said Islands belonging to all the 8 tribes shall be (for the year ensuing) let forth by the sheriffe and the overseers of the respective Tribes where such common lands shall be, to the best advantage that it may be raised unto.'³

Woods, Woodhouse's successor, was not kindly disposed toward the project either. In the following year "an Act to establish the common land to the benefit of the severall tribes to whom it properly belongs" was passed. It stated:

For as much as of late the said space of common land belonging to the 8 tribes is sett forth by order of the late Governor, to several persons of theise Islands for annuall rent with intencon to expend the said rents towards the ereccon of a freeschoole in the Somer Islands, which for diverse reasons wee the Inhabitants conceive for the present to be ineffectual and infeasible Bee it therefore enacted &c. that the share of comon Lands belonging to every particular Tribe aforesaid shall be at the ordering and disposing of the Inhabitants . . . either towards the maintenance of the Church and other duties

¹Bermuda, Colonial Legislature, Colonial Records VII, p. 70; Wilkinson, Adventurers, p. 240.

²William and Mary Quarterly, p. 487.

³Lefroy, 1:395, 413.

concerning the same . . . or for the relieving of other necessary charges . . . as to them found most expedient.

The inhabitants of these Islands in general freely offering their readiness to contribute towards the erection and maintenance of the said Free Schoole in another manner when soever the honorable Company shall goe before them by example to that end.¹

Governor Woods further expressed his disapproval of the project in a letter. In 1634 he wrote:

Mr. Copeland thinks the Company will give him all their comon land to build a free School, as some of us here have done with ours. I wish we had ministers contented to preach the gospel an let this Free Schoole alone until wee are free from debt. These workers of ostentation and supererogation make great showe and noyse abroad of the Somer Islands. I assure you if men could transport themselves as they desyre, it would leave but a few to be taught and brought up in a Free schoole to be built in this place.²

The attitude of Woods' administration was counterproductive, but Copeland was not to be deterred from his 'favorite project.' That Woods was not averse to the establishment of such an institution can be seen from his various statements on the proposition. Woods practical and realistic mind considered the idea as premature. "He was a man of sincere piety of the Puritan school," sympathising warmly with the conscientious nonconformists of the Laud regime.³

"Father Copeland," as he was fondly called, pursued his plan. He wanted to ensure that the Indians had every available educational opportunity. He purchased five acres of land on which he erected a building and proposed to use some portion for the school. He disbursed £1000 sterling for the year 1637 and £2000 more were expected for the

¹Lefroy, 1:395, 413.

²"Roger Woods Letters," no. 31, in Lefroy, 1:395.

³Ibid., p. 531.

next two years.¹ He also wrote to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts expressing thanks for his "remembrance of him in sending twelve New England Indians to us which were left at Providence."

He was optimistic about the school project despite the fact that "we have within these two years many that seek to undermine us and to ruin the good that wee have endeavored to doe here."

He promised Winthrop,

If you send us any more of your captive Indians, I will see them disposed of here to honest men; or if you send mee a couple, a boy and a girle for myself, I will₂ pay for the passages so they may be hopeful [educationally].

Later Years

As the years progressed, Copeland became disenchanted with the doctrines of the Church of England. Serious divisive controversies developed. These controversies reached an impasse when he and others joined the Rev. Nathaniel White to form an Independent Church based on the doctrines of the Anabaptists. He was also involved in the Eleutheria project to found a colony where religious freedom could be practiced.³

None of Copland's pretentious schemes for a seminary were ever realized. Their connections with great men and great events, however, have contributed to their great historic significance. Though none of the great men involved in the plan pursued its accomplishments,

¹Lefroy, 1:697.

²Patrick Copeland to John Winthrop, 4 December 1639, Massachusetts Historical Collections, 5th series, vol. 1, in Lefroy, 1:698-699.

³Lefroy, 1:697; Neill, pp. 91-92; William Renner to Alexander Pope, 9 May 1646, "Pym Papers," Bermuda Archives.

each of the three major figures made substantive contributions to the further pursual of educational improvements and the establishment of institutions of learning in Bermuda. Sir Nathaniel Rich left a legacy of four shares to the school and made other contributions to the project. The Ferrars were very generous in their financial support of the school. Besides the two shares which both Ferrars, Nicholas Sr. and Jr., had already donated, further contributions were made by other members of the Ferrar family. They allocated £250 of the unspent £300 which had been donated to the Virginia College a year or two before the Indian massacre. Rev. Patrick Copeland, the principal promoter of the project, bequeathed land to the school.¹ This is documented by the fact that in his will mention is made of a "halfe share of land No. 23 in Paget's tribe in Aaron Pedles hands" which is part of a share which Patrick Copeland gave to the free schoole in his lifetime.²

No further historical account is given of Copeland or of his activities. Neill indicated that it is believed that he died before 1655, probably in Eleutheria.³

Issues

The account presented in this chapter indicates that several grave issues emerged during Copeland's endeavors to implement his plan for a college in Bermuda. The researcher has summarized the

¹ Colonial Records, 11:330-332; CSP 1724, p. 313.

² Lefroy, 1:697; Wilkinson, Adventurers, p. 188.

³ Neill, p. 93.

major issues below, under the headings Socio-Religious and Religio-Political.

Socio-Religious Issues

One of the most pervasive issues that the North American colonists encountered during their efforts to establish colonies in the New World was that of finding a way to establish friendly relationships with the Indians. Many of the colonists believed that an educational program designed to convert the "savage Indians" to Christianity was the answer. It would make a positive contribution toward resolving this issue--a solution on which their very lives depended. Schools would be established at various intellectual levels where Indian youth would be Christianized and trained to go out and evangelize their own countrymen. Many sincere efforts were made to accomplish this goal.

It was Copeland's response to the challenge of providing such education that created an issue at the local level. The issue that surfaced was: How great was the need for higher education in a pioneering country? The ecclesiastics and the state leaders saw little immediate need for education at that level; minimal educational achievement seemed adequate for the common folk. Their interests were primarily those of satisfying the lower-level needs. Copeland's plan ran counter to theirs and their negative attitude to the project produced a calculated effort to adopt suppressive measures to thwart Copeland's intention. This may be seen in the resolutions passed by the governors, especially Governor Woods against Copeland's project.

A related issue was that of the effectiveness of the method of evangelizing the Indians. Though the leaders believed in the adequacy

of the gospel to change lives they were not impressed that this method of evangelism would be effective. Bringing Indian youth to Bermuda despite all the favorable natural endowments and the ample educational arrangements seemed a less effective method. The high cost of the project and the relatively small number of students that could be accommodated, hence trained, seemed out of proportion to the huge task of converting hordes of Indians.

Religio-Political Issues

Some issues had religio-political overtones. Many ecclesiasticals opposed Copeland's plan because they feared that this would be a threat to their traditional practices and standing in the community. Copeland was already exhibiting signs of a growing ecclesiastical independence (he later actually severed his connection with the Church of England). They feared his usurpation of ecclesiastical power through this means and they did not endorse his plan.

Another issue that seemed difficult to resolve was the problem of conflict of interests. Who should direct an educational program at such a high level? The church leaders' concept was that preachers should preach. An effective preaching ministry made full demands on the preacher's time, effort, and intellectual and emotional energies. The task of operating a seminary where future leaders were to be trained was equally demanding. Conflict of interest would result in sacrifices at both ends and in a less efficient preaching and teaching ministry.

The issue over the attitude of the government toward education also engendered much debate. Generally the attitude was one of

general apathy under the guide of a "laissez-faire" policy of government intervention in church matters. The education of the youth was generally considered a duty of the state. Government showed no greater interest in higher education. Most of the governors, ecclesiasticals, and lesser officials in the colony were intent on maintaining the traditional concept of a privileged class. The greater number of these officials had been educated in a closed society and could visualize no other. They perceived higher education as a primary need and privilege of only a chosen few--the leaders and potential leaders of the community. They could not condone the extension of these privileges to others in the local community nor to the "savage Indians."

One final issue that is addressed here is the issue of heirarchy in the administration of Bermuda. The politicians who were both ecclestical and state leaders were divided and there was constant strife and debate. The division caused a mortal wound that left many dissillutioned and fearful. Sir Edwin Sandys and his supporters basically supported Copeland and his project. The opposition, while sensitive to the needs for improved relations with the Indians and to the methods of its accomplishment, failed to identify with a cause that would give their opponents greater credibility, and the project failed.

Most of the leaders viewed the conflict between the native Indians and the white colonists as an intolerable situation that showed little signs of being corrected by the prevailing political, social, and religious systems of the English civilization. And they desired solutions; but solutions for issues such as these are never easy to come by. The solution requires a synthesis of the ethic of social responsibility and of involvement in methods designed for the improvement of

relationships among members of the human race. It requires a reestablishment of proper relationships among the members of society who lead; between ideas and action; between tradition and changing concepts. This ideal can only be gained by learning from experience to establish confidence in one another and by united effort to move toward a more enlightened society.

Summary

This chapter has depicted the major aspects of the intellectual and religious legacy the English colonists in Bermuda received from England. These and other aspects of the legacy formed the fundamental characteristics of the Bermuda culture. By the end of the seventeenth century, a cohesive society was emerging with a distinct Bermuda culture. The chapter also presented some of the major issues that inevitable emerged in a developing social system. Some of the conflicts and issues were negative and disruptive. The issues were ruinous to Copeland's project, and finally resulted in the failure of the project. Yet for Copeland, Bermuda with its equable climate where land, sea, and fresh air offered their choicest opportunities for promoting and prolonging life, seemed to offer the most appealing prospects for such a project. Although the colony was relatively isolated, it consciously stood in the proud tradition which it had the desire to perpetuate. The seminary would be small and remote but its meaning and goals were great and immediate. It would be designed as a link between two worlds--the European community, broad and cosmopolitan, and the New World, confined and provincial--on one side the New World of Puritanism and politics; on the other the Old World of traditions and learning.

The seminary would exist in a milieu in which reformed ideals were already being modified. It would be a vehicle for transmitting the culture of the learned world to the New World.

The story of this plan to convert the Indians through education holds a unique place in the history of higher education in Bermuda. The resurgence of interest in higher education in Bermuda as well as throughout the world should once more cause one to focus on this epoch-making event in the colony--Copeland's bold effort to make Bermuda a haven of learning.

CHAPTER III

HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIETY: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

The account of the impact of the English heritage on the Bermudian culture given in the preceeding chapter forms a fitting backdrop for a discussion of life in eighteenth-century Bermuda. The settlers in Bermuda adhered so closely to the concepts, beliefs, and institutions that were transplanted from England that for most of the seventeenth century the society was in many respects an English society.

It was becoming evident, however, that a typically Bermudian culture was emerging. The colonists did not achieve an independent culture simply by operating on borrowed cultural capital stock. From their first arrival in Bermuda, the settlers showed a strong practical bent. They demonstrated that they had a marked capacity for inventiveness and resourcefulness. Nature also gave them one considerable advantage--the sea--which encouraged maritime activity. Consequently, the pioneer Bermudians early began to build boats utilizing them not only for inter-island communication but for travel abroad--to America, the West Indies, and Europe. This maritime activity was intensified during the eighteenth century as Bermudians sought greater opportunities for economic and social progress.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the maritime activity in which Bermudians engaged and of the dominant materialistic trends which resulted. It also gives a survey of the influence of the contemporary philosophies on the society. These two forces contributed to a great degree in shaping societal and educational values. The last section of the chapter presents the efforts made during the century to establish institutions of higher learning in Bermuda.

Overview

Almost a century of experimentation with pioneering skills had passed when the eighteenth century dawned. During this time, the colonists in Bermuda were developing a common identity and seeking economic and social security. As the population increased this need became even more apparent and the colonists sought many ways to achieve their goal. The period was characterized by a maritime industry of great strength and vitality. One important factor which contributed to the prolific sea trade was the relaxed attitude of the Board of Trade, which regulated colonial trade, and endeavored to enforce the Acts of Trade and Navigation.¹ These acts were designed to regulate colonial trading activities but distance made it increasingly frustrating and difficult to enforce them. The Board of Trade took the line of least resistance and assumed a relaxed attitude towards enforcing the laws. They were generally resisted and violated or circumvented

¹Historical Manuscripts Commission, Stuart Papers 40:213; Letter-Book of Francis Forbes, 1784-96 (St. George, Bermuda: St. George's Historical Society), pp. 10, 67; Bermuda Council, Minutes of Council, 21 July, 26 September, 15 November 1722 (hereafter cited as M of C).

since the colonists considered any trade restraints by the imperial government as a breach of the original contract made between them and England.¹ There were some benefits which they received from these acts, e.g., some colonial commodities still enjoyed a monopoly in the English market and custom duties on foreign goods were still repaid in part when the commodities were re-exported to the colonies. This situation fostered the growth of the carrying and sea trade in which the Bermuda colonists engaged during the eighteenth century.²

The sea had always exerted a profound influence on Bermudian life-style. It supplied an abundance of fish and other food. It was the principal means of travel between islands and of international communication and trade. This dependence on the sea fostered a need for experts in ship or boat building. In time Bermuda boats gained international fame and were keenly sought. The Bermuda sloop and the brigantine became familiar sights in colonial trade. These boats were built of cedar and were esteemed as being light, swift, and durable.³ An early eighteenth-century report that the Bermuda Council sent to the Council of Trade and Plantations in 1708 stated that from 1698-1708, three ships, seventeen brigs, and 217 sloops were built of Bermuda cedar. Fifty shipwrights were employed; five smith forges were operating; and over 170 capable pilots were available

¹CSP 1724, pp. 13, 40, 313-315, 492; also "John H. Darrell Manuscripts," Bermuda Archives.

²Charles M. Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, 4 vols. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1964); CSP, 40:54; "Durnford Manuscripts," 20 May 1797, passim.

³CSP 1691, p. 437; CSP 1725, pp. 14-15.

to take a vessel to any of the known ports of trade.¹

An extensive sea trade was also being carried on. Boats sailed to and from various parts of the world, but particularly the West Indies and America, laden with goods. The extent of the trade in 1733 may be seen from this report sent to the Board of Trade:

These islands have imported one year with another from Great Britain about £10,000 consisting chiefly of linnens [sic] of all sorts . . . woolens [sic] of all sorts . . . and hatts [sic]. . . . These goods are chiefly imported from London, Bristol, and Liverpoole. . . . There is no trade from this to any part of Europe but to Great Britain except to Madeira for wine.²

Charles Johnson indicated that privateering also reached its height in this century. The century-old dream of capturing treasure ships had not lost its appeal. Bermudian sailors ventured out to attack ships despite reprisals and counter-reprisals. They often succeeded since their ships, light and built for speed, could often escape with relative ease.³

With the development of the prolific sea-trade a new economic era of prosperity dawned. The wealthy merchant class displayed riches and grandeur by building elaborate houses. A taste for formal dress and manners was acquired. The wealthy spent their leisure time in dancing, cardplaying, dinghy-racing, and other forms of amusement. There was a great deal of visiting among the families. The

¹Bermuda Customs, St. George's, Bermuda Manifests -- Outward 1792-1797; Inward 1795-1800; CSP 174, p. 442; JHA, 1:780.

²CSP, 40:54.

³JHA, 1:16, 18, 37; Charles Johnston, Generall History of the Pirates (London: James Day, 1726), p. 10; Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office Records (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1738), 37:36 (hereafter cited as CO); CSP 1724, pp. 69, 94, 320-321.

Negro servants were well trained and could conduct the family affairs while their masters indulged in gaiety and mirth.¹

It became the fashionable thing to visit 'home' as England was called. Most of the sons of the well-to-do were sent to England or America to receive their education. As these youth toured the continents there was a general exchange of ideas. This diffusion of ideas paved the way for a great intellectual involvement. Many of these youth became interested in the rapidly changing currents of philosophical thought. The way was paved for their participation in the thought movement.

This "thought movement" known as the "Enlightenment" exerted a great influence on the philosophy of the period. The Enlightenment resembled a new religion. Its origins may be traced to the liberal teachings of the English scientists--Locke, Newton, Harvey, and Boyle. It was the brilliant interpretation of these ideas by the French scholars --Voltaire, Diderot, and others--that launched the new philosophy, however. The movement was primarily a revolt against traditional authority. The French objected to the authoritarianism of the Church and to its superstitions and empty ceremonies. Voltaire and the new leaders urged the people to follow reason instead of prejudice and tradition; to supplant authority of the church with that of science.²

Despite the many contradictory aspects of the movement, it

¹CO, 37:14, 17; E. A. McCallan, Life on Old St. David's (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Historical Trust, 1945), pp. 10-11; Hy. Tucker family to St. George Tucker, 2 December 1741; M of C, 3 November 1761, 5 August 1783.

²Merle Curti, "The Great Mr. Locke, America's Philosopher, 1785-1861," Huntington Library Bulletin 11 (April 1937):107-151.

exerted its influence on the religious temper of the time. This influence expressed itself in many ways in Bermuda. The secularizing influence was seen in the strong materialistic tendencies of the society. Church attendance was also affected. Though most people still attended church regularly there seemed to be a falling away from the faith of the fathers. Many were simply going through the recognized motions of piety; others were stubbornly refusing to accept anything that could not be reconciled with reason; others were adopting "strange" religious views.¹

To combat this attitude toward religion, the Congregationalists and Presbyterians of America began a revival in 1734, known as the Great Awakening. Under its inspiration, many great preachers traveled world-wide promoting Christianity. Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield visited Bermuda in 1748. Whitefield stayed there for about one month since he had gone there to recuperate. During this time, however, he devoted himself to preaching the word with great freedom and power at least twice a day in private homes and meeting halls. He recorded his success in Bermuda in his diary--"an entrance is now made into the islands. The Lord, who has begun, can and will carry on His own work."²

Whitefield's enthusiasm and appeal were so great that many were led to return to the study of the Bible and to spread the

¹CO, 37:3, 185; 6:24; CSP, 26:872; Joshua Marsden, Narrative of a Mission to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Somers Islands (London: J. Johns, 1816), pp. 119, 122; Diary of Cotton Mather, 5 April, 16 November 1716, 10 May, 26 October 1718.

²George Whitefield, Memoirs (New York: Hodge & Shober, 1774), pp. 115, 119-120; A Letter from the Reverend Mr. Whitefield to a Reverend Divine in Boston (Boston: Franklin & Hall, 1741).

message of good news. A perceptible interest in intellectual pursuits was also being fostered though it was not dramatically apparent.

Governor Benjamin Bennet provided twelve acres of land for education. Governor John B. Hope's concern for educational progress inspired him to request that the three rectors being sent to Bermuda be expected to teach. Yet Bermudians generally were disinterested in learning. As Governor Hope remarked, "They were seldom fond of the sweet food of academic institutions."¹ The governor's very candid evaluation of the educational standards of the Assembly was that there were "but two persons . . . capable of writing fit to be seen."² The uncomplimentary remark was also made that the whole group of legislators had only "privateering principles and Bermuda education." This reveals the contempt in which Bermuda education was held.

Governor Popple's efforts to influence education may be seen in his making his library of more than one thousand volumes available, thus encouraging the habit of reading, particularly among the successful financiers whose mental horizons were being widened by the expansion of trade and their contacts abroad. The increasing interest in education motivated some of the residents in Warwick to seek to establish a school "for the better bringing up the children and younger sons of the gentlemen . . . in literature and forming their minds in virtuous and prudent maxims of life."³

¹CSP, 26:14; Journals of House, 9:35, 60; M of C, 5 October 1742.

²CSP 1724, p. 17; JHA, 9:35, 60; M of C, 5 October 1742.

³Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker, 1790, in St. George Tucker Correspondence, Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia; JHA, 5:61; M of C, 3 January 1738, 20 November 1744, 8 January 1745.

The apathy towards and disinterest in education was not confined to Bermuda. Wilkinson commented that

Intellectual inertia had not gravitated upon Bermuda alone. There had been a mental debacle throughout the American colonies, for the protracted hardship of life and the labour necessary for existence . . . had left neither time nor energy for theoretical instruction which, accordingly, slid on a precipitous descent. New England suffered the least. In Harvard it had a college, but only one and for sixty years it devoted itself almost solely to theology and in no way attained the standard reached in New Spain before the English had ever set more than a transitory foot in Bermuda.¹

The situation was not much better in England. There was no organized leadership or educational effort as had stirred the period of the Tudors. The universities, like the Church, rested complacently on authority and there was a general disinterest in intellectual culture.

It was generally conceded that the first decades of the eighteenth century were "the educational abyss from whose depths the founding of the College of William and Mary in Virginia and of Yale in Connecticut mark the first scholastic ascents." These expansions were of no immediate impact on Bermuda generally, though some Bermudians attended these universities.²

According to Bennett, education in Bermuda had been reduced to reading, writing, and arithmetic, the requirements for Christening--the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and whatever a Christian ought to know and believe for his soul's health. Merchants' accounts and navigation were offered as extra subjects occasionally.³

¹Henry C. Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 288.

²Ibid., p. 289.

³M of C, 26 June 1735.

There seemed to be neither the desire nor the need for education of the poor. The poor spent their time fishing, swimming, and diving--skills, it was felt, that required no great instruction to acquire. Some leaders, both civil and ecclesiastical, would have preferred it otherwise and sought to provide educational opportunities, though they insisted on an education founded on religion.

The religious motive for education still pervaded most social pursuits. It was still considered the duty of the church to provide educational facilities, though in most instances they were rather meager. The church encouraged organized philanthropic efforts to provide more educational opportunities and to see that the content of education received was in harmony with the teachings of the orthodox religion.¹

The influence of these three parallel but often conflicting movements--the Enlightenment; a quiet, but pervasive growth of liberal Christianity; and the Great Awakening in spiritual matters--was great. These distinctive features of eighteenth-century life did not foster any great interest in formal education. Except for a few free schools to which only the wealthy were admitted, there were few schools dedicated to educating the children. Little educational provision was made for the common people and no thought was given to educating the slaves. Many schools operated in situations which were much less than ideal. The teachers were frequently priests who regarded school-keeping as a means of gaining a scanty livelihood. The quality and content of the instruction received left much to be desired. More importantly, there was still the intense interest in the self-made man--

¹ CSP 1724, p. 680.

the man who solved his problems in the school of circumstance; the man who amassed wealth through enterprise and hard work and ingenuity; the man who still largely depended on his own resources and sound common sense.¹

Whatever the conflicting materialistic, philosophical, and religious view of the time, there were many religious leaders who strove to promote the cause of education. One of the most influential church leaders in this endeavor was Dr. George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, an eminent preacher and philosopher. He dedicated most of his life to founding St. Paul's College in Bermuda.²

Revival of Interest in Education

The cumulative effects of the materialistic tendencies on education were adverse in the first instance and then advantageous in the final analysis. While there is some evidence that intellectual interests were compromised for the vibrant materialistic ventures, interest in education during this period was never totally lost.³

The Efforts of Religious Societies

Generally, the Church of England maintained a passive role among the conflicting ideologies. After 1690 the Church of England came to accept its responsibility more seriously and directed its activities towards extending its influence in the New World. A possible reason

¹Wilkinson, Bermuda in the Old Empire, pp. 288-289.

²CSP 34:364; A. A. Luce, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. 42, sec. C, no. 6 (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1934), p. 97.

³William Boyd, The History of Western Education (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961), p. 281.

for this new direction may be seen in Berkeley's words:

In Europe, the protestant religion hath of late years considerably lost ground, and America seems the likeliest place wherein to make up for what hath been lost in Europe, provided the proper methods are taken otherwise the Spanish missionaries in the south, and the French in the North, are making such progress, as may one day spread the religion of Rome, and with it the usual hatred¹ to protestants, throughout all the savage nations of America.

The Church recognized the important role of the ministry and ever sought to influence young men to prepare for an effective ministerial career. The most comprehensive missionary activity designed to achieve this end was that founded in 1701 by the great protagonist of the Anglican Church, Reverent Thomas Bray, D.D. He instituted the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as it was officially known (hereafter cited as the SPG), to augment the work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). The main functions of these societies were to provide and support colonial missionaries and to promote the cause of education at home and abroad.² "For more than eighty years, from 1702 to 1782, the majority of the Church of England missionaries in the colonies were chosen, sent over and in great measure supported by the S.P.G."³ Bray's natural benevolence is also demonstrated by the founding of The Associates of Bray, an organization which had as its primary purpose the conversion

¹Joseph Stock, comp., The Works of George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne (London: Charles Daly, 1837), p. 391.

²W. O. B. Allen and Edward McClure, Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898 (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1898), pp. 6-9, 122-124 (hereafter cited as McClure, SPCK).

³*Ibid.*, pp. 224-229.



*most affectionately
your humble servant
George Berkeley*

BISHOP GEORGE BERKELEY

An engraving of Bishop Berkeley reproduced from The Life and Letters of Bishop Berkeley, D.D. by Alexander Campbell Fraser, published by the Clarendon Press in 1871.

and education of Negroes and Indians, and was designed to provide native men with a college education, which would help them to become more effective missionaries.¹

Previous efforts to establish a college at Barbados and St. Christopher (St. Kitts) had met with little success. Yet the urgency of the need could not be obscured. The burden to found such an institution rested ponderously on one of its ardent members, Dr. George Berkeley, an active member of the SPG. His aim was almost an obsession. He eventually resolved to "spend the remainder of his days in the island of Bermuda. . . . He would build St. Paul's College in the romantic, salubrious, unspoiled islands of which Waller sang."²

Berkeley's St. Paul's College in Bermuda

George Berkeley was born in Kilerin, near Thomas town, Kilkenny in 1686. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1704, and a fellow of that college for twenty years. An honest and God-fearing man, he achieved great success in his ministry as a result of his dedication, his progressive ideas, his literary genius, and his convincing sermons and speeches. His connection with the South Sea enterprise convinced him of the decadent state of the Old World and of the need for taking positive steps to correct this trend. His burden for the conversion of the Indians gave his conviction greater appeal. The SPG and other religious organizations had ventured into the New World, and while they were enjoying a fair measure of success,

¹Ibid., p. 314.

²A. A. Luce, Proceedings, p. 97.

their efforts were somewhat restricted by the lack of ministers and of colleges where ministers could be trained. Berkeley determined to dedicate his life to fulfilling these needs. The Old World with its distractions was not the ideal location for such an undertaking. He would seek to establish a college in the New World where the students would be safe from secularizing influences.¹ With his decision firmly made, he began to solicit financial and moral support for the project. His proposal for the project received magnanimous acceptance. It gripped the imagination and interest of many influential persons on both sides of the Atlantic. His convincing arguments and his earnestness won the support and admiration of Dean Swift, the hero of the period whose pen often provoked much political conflict. In his letter to Lord Carteret, the Lord Lieutenant, on Berkeley's behalf in 1724, Swift described Berkeley's plan and requested his support for the project which he termed "a university".²

Berkeley pursued his plan zealously. In 1724 he submitted detailed plans under the title: A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity.³ The Proposal is usually dated 1725, the

¹ A. A. Luce, Life of George Berkeley (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1949), pp. 95-96; Allen and McClure, Two Hundred Years, pp. 9-10; Stock, Works, pp. 387-388.

² Jonathan Swift to Lord Carteret at Bath, 3 September 1724, in Luce, Life, p. 101.

³ George Berkeley, A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in Our Foreign Plantations; and for Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity, by a College to Be Erected in the Sommer Islands, Otherwise Called the Isles of Bermuda (London: H. Woodfall, 1725).

date assigned to it in the Miscellany, but the actual date of the first edition is 1724. The Proposal gave concrete evidence of his determination to fulfill his dream of a college in the West and of detailed and thorough planning. The conceptual basis for this plan included the following theses: (1) There was still much work to be done among the colonists. Their moral and ethical standards were low, their attitude to religion was not very positive, and their outlook was too materialistic. (2) The Indians were still in heathen darkness and barbarism almost to the same extent as they were on initial contact with the Europeans. (3) The poor selection of and the low intellectual attainment of most of the clergymen sent out from England was regrettable; the insufficient supply and the lack of interest in religion which these conditions fostered. (4) There was need to convert the Negroes of the plantations, if only to make them better slaves.

A college was a vital need. Local personnel would be trained in religion, morality, and good learning, and an opportunity would be provided for the youth of the planters to attend a seminary. Only such savages as are under ten years of age would be admitted. This was suggested since at that age evil habits would not have taken deep root; yet they could retain their mother tongue. This would be a definite asset in the communication with their fellow Indians.

The proposed curriculum included a thorough training in religion, morality, and other areas of learning including eloquence, history, practical mathematics, physics. The college would be a degree-granting institution. The M.A. degree would be conferred and the candidates would be ordained in England "till such time as an episcopacy be established in those parts." Those not fitted for higher

education would be taught agriculture and trades. At the end of their program they would return to their people and evangelize and teach them improved agricultural and technical techniques. The plan seemed acceptable, but where would such a college be located? Berkeley explored several possibilities in great detail. America with its string of settlements extending from Maine to Georgia, its difficult means of communication, and its most popular means of transportation did not offer many appealing prospects. Avarice and licentiousness were very prevalent among the populous parts of the country; the attitude of the white colonists in withholding the privilege of baptism from the natives he held in disfavor, and in the remote parts to supply help constituted a difficulty and the savages a danger.

An island seemed the feasible location for the project, and "there [was] but one spot . . . to which this circumstance agrees; and that is, the isles of Bermuda, otherwise called the Summer Islands."¹ It was equidistant from the islands and from the mainland; it carried on extensive trade with America, the West Indies, and England; it was secure from pirates; and the inhabitants lived simply and had high moral standards. There were no rich commodities to bring wealth and evil to the colony. The students would be safe from the contagion of vice and luxury. The land was fertile, the climate mild, and the air pure. The arguments in favor of Bermuda as the location of the college were convincing. Two colleges already existed in America and these were not enjoying a great measure of success. It was safe to presume that a college in such a romantic, unspoiled, and salubrious

¹Stock, Works, p. 339.

place would attract the right type of administrators--men of prudence, sound judgment, zeal, and learning. Already Berkeley had succeeded in attracting a group of well-qualified associates, men with good positions at home but who were willing to sacrifice these to spend their lives in Bermuda for the benefit of the youth and of the kingdom. The Roman Catholic missionaries were active; therefore, they, as members of the Church of England, should fall behind in no good thing. The honor of the Crown, of the nation, and of the Church of England was at stake. Difficulties could be overcome by prudence and resolution. With the blessing of God it could be successful.

Berkeley ended the Proposal with an eloquent appeal. His premises are evidence of careful weighing of the evidence. He showed that the cost of sponsoring a young American for a whole year was a mere £10 a year, the interest on £200 with no decrease in the capital.

The postscript indicated the initial success of the project. In it Berkeley presented a list of twenty-three persons who were prepared to subscribe to the project. A very impressive list of names it was--the Archdeacon, deans, the Bishop of London, dukes, the Secretary of State for the Plantations, and other influential personalities. The project was no longer a personal affair; it was assuming national proportions.

A plan was also submitted. It showed "The City of Bermuda, the Metropolis of the Summer Islands" with main street, church, open portico, four markets, public parks, and baths, a theatre, academies for music, painting, sculpture and architecture, the cemetery or "walk of Death" with groves of cypress, and the street leading to St. Paul's College "situate[d] in a peninsula a quarter of a mile from the town."

The college was to occupy the centre of the "academical circus," consisting of the fellows' houses, each with a large garden; round it was a residential circus, in which many of the houses were actually bespoke;" round it again was the third circus composed of shops and artificers' dwellings. Such a detailed plan gained popularity and exerted a great influence on its potential supporters.

The list of subscribers continued to grow and the prospects became more encouraging. In December 1724, Berkeley reported:

I have obtained reports from the Bishop of London, the Board of Trade and Plantations, and the Attorney and Solicitor General, in favour of the Bermuda scheme, and hope to have the warrant signed by His Majesty this week.¹

Berkeley succeeded in obtaining a positive response even from among those with conflicting commercial interests. Prior, his friend, supported it and even thought of accompanying Berkeley to Bermuda. Dan Dering and other members of the Scribblers Club were enthusiastic about the idea now that they had been won over by Berkeley's wit, eloquence, and enthusiasm.² They, too, were convinced that "Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way,"³ and they were ready and willing to follow.

Financial Arrangements

More than ephemeral encouragement and gallant spirits were

¹George Berkeley to Thomas Prior, London, 8 December 1724.

²Luce, Life, p. 97.

³George Berkeley, "Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America," in Stock, Works, p. 394. The authorship of this poem is often disputed; however, there is decisive evidence (says Luce in Proceedings, p. 116) that the author of these famous verses is Berkeley, though in a letter to Percival (February 1726), he modestly, perhaps prudently, attributes them to a friend.

needed. Funds were indispensable.¹ Percival, to whose correspondence with Berkeley one owes much for the enlightening information imparted, reminded him that the support and protection of government were essential; without them he would meet grave difficulties from influential persons both at home and abroad. Berkeley accepted Percival's gracious suggestions and set to work to secure the necessary influence and means.² The potential financial support received from both the government and the private sectors was gratifying. The major sources of prospective funding for the project included:

(1) Vanessa's legacy, which he called a 'providential event.' It was the more providential since he apparently was only casually acquainted with her. Whatever the reason for her beneficence, the timing was most appropriate.

(2) A second category of gifts to the undertaking was that from the private sector which had amounted to £4,000 by February 1726. Prior and Newman were solicited for their moral and financial support. Dering wrote to Lord Percival intimating that the dean had visited him and discussed the project with him. He also mentioned that Berkeley was "agreeably surprised two days ago with a note of 500 towards his project from a person who desires to be nameless." At least one loan came from the private sector. Berkeley himself made a sizable contribution.³

¹Alexander Campbell Frazer, The Works of George Berkeley, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), 4:366-367; Luce, Life, pp. 108-109.

²Luce, Life, p. 97.

³Ibid., pp. 100-101.

The Deanery of Derry was a matter of prestige to him, not money. It was worth £1,500 a year. He considered it neither a moral act nor dereliction of duty to farm out the deanery, and he requested Prior to farm out the deanery on his behalf. "Absenteeism was a problem of economics to be solved by taxation; and Berkeley taxed himself. The tithe lands yielded about £1,250 annually, out of which he contributed about £350."¹

The greatest potential contributor to the plan, however, was the government. The undertaking received its approval in glowing terms. On February 16, 1725, the Council stated

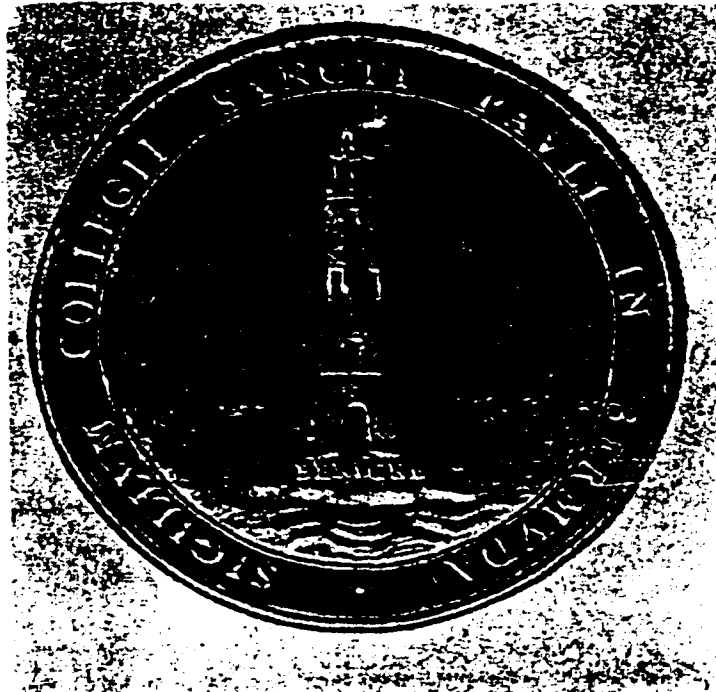
. . . the king having been moved upon a petition of Dr. George Berkeley . . . is very well inclined to give all due encouragement to so good and useful undertaking. On March 2, the Council of Trade and Plantations reported to the King that they commended 'so laudable an undertaking' provided the College be not impowered to purchase or receive above 1,000 acres of land in the Bermuda Islands, and that their revenue in any other part of your Majesty's Dominion do not exceed £2,000 a year."²

The petition from the Dean and three other signatories was submitted on February 16, 1725. It requested a charter for erecting in Bermuda a college to be named St. Paul's College, with Dr. Berkeley as president and the other three petitioners for the first fellows.³ The Charter provided for a degree-conferring institution with a President and nine fellows. Dr. George Berkeley was to be appointed President of the College; three Fellows were named: William Thompson, Jonathan Rogers, and James King. The President and "the majority"

¹Ibid., p. 95.

²CSP 1724, p. 342.

³Ibid., pp. 327-328, 364.



SEAL OF ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE

(In possession of the Bermuda Historical Society)

SEAL OF ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE

Seal of the proposed College of St. Paul, which Bishop Berkeley wanted to establish in Bermuda. The picture was taken, through the courtesy of Dr. H. C. Wilkinson, from his book, Bermuda in the Old Empire.

of the said Fellows chose the rest, subject to H. M. Royal approval. The popularity of the plan earned it immediate attention. By April 26, a positive, encouraging answer was received. The warrant to the attorney and solicitor general concluded:

We taking the premises [sic] into our Royal consideration and being willing to encourage a design tending to the propagation and advancement of true religion, piety, good manners, and useful learning among Our subjects in the plantations in America and the neighbouring Nations of Indians, ¹are graciously pleased to condescend to the petitioners' request.

Berkeley was greatly encouraged by this response. He wrote Prior in September 1725, stating, "I have good assurance that our College will be endowed beyond anything expected or desired hitherto." In 1726 after further successful solicitations he remarked: "I am in a fair way of having a very noble endowment for the College of Bermuda . . . I have gained the consent of government."²

Fraser stated that Berkeley had suggested a government subscription of £20,000 for the project. He outlined the method of obtaining this money explicitly. A portion of the revenue from the sale of the public lands in the island of St. Kitts could be used for that purpose. The King found the plan acceptable and requested Sir Robert Walpole to introduce and conduct it through the House of Commons.³ There was some opposition from a commercial faction, but when the vote was put to the House only two members voted against

¹CSP 1724, pp. 365-366.

²Alexander Campbell Fraser, Life and Letters of George Berkeley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), pp. 114, 123.

³Ibid., p. 124.

it.¹ The Commons with an extraordinary majority "voted an address to His Majesty that he would be pleased to make such grant out of the lands of St. Christopher's for the endowment thereof as to him shall seem proper." A few days later the king, George II, sent 'a very gracious reply.' The arrangement essentially was that a rent-charge would be collected on the whole Crown lands, redeemable upon the payment of £20,000 for the use of the president and fellows of St. Paul's and their successors.

The method was legally satisfactory and feasible. However, no time limit for the execution of the agreement was included. This created rather unpropitious circumstances later.² According to Luce Berkeley took all precautionary measures to ensure the success of his project. As a further safeguard he requested that the lands in Bermuda which were donated by Sir Nathaniel Rich and which were lying dormant could be appropriated to the use of the college.

The preliminary arrangements had been made. Berkeley was satisfied with the prospects. He would not launch an intensive campaign. He left Ireland for London in September of the same year to publish his Proposal. The spring and summer of 1726 were spent campaigning for the project. Henry Newman, a close friend of his, gave him great assistance and encouragement. Berkeley toured England, arriving in London by the spring of the following year. He planned to return to Ireland, but seemed to have some trepidations about

¹Berkeley to Prior, 12 May 1726.

²Fraser, Life and Letters, pp. 124-125; Luce, Life, pp. 103-108.

doing so. Concurrently he was trying to wind up the legal proceedings for Vanessa's legacy.¹

Luce stated that the next two years seem shrouded in mystery. He often travelled incognito, living unpretentiously in small apartments and in virtual seclusion. He suggested that the visit to Dublin was to finalize his Irish business.²

The plan seemed certain to succeed and to be implemented with all possible speed; however, the time was lagging; the prospects of fulfilling his dream were becoming dim. Though the project won wide approval in the House, there was continued opposition to it in the Cabinet. There were many complexities. Berkeley was in a difficult position. The private subscriptions were still being received, yet no definite word about the treasury grant was forthcoming. Rumors began to circulate that Berkeley was not in earnest about the project; that he was now convinced that he had made an unwise decision. He felt that the best way to prove his sincerity was to sail. Should he sail away secretly, it would tend to confirm the rumors, but if he had the publicity that such an auspicious occasion warranted, it would seem imprudent and would be condemned by his friends. What course should he pursue? Had Berkeley been depending solely on the grant or on private subscriptions, he might not have sailed when he did. His colleagues and close friends did not encourage him to leave. Some subscribers, however, could see no reason for him to remain in Europe, so Berkeley, with his wife, set sail on

¹Berkeley to Prior, 8 December 1724, 2, 30 December 1725.

²Idem, 20 February 1723; Luce, Works, p. 99.

ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE MEDAL



The St. Paul's College medal dug up at Riddell's Bay by Mr. Powell. One side (top) bears a scriptural quotation: "God Hath Made All Men Of One Blood." The other side (bottom) reads: "To Berkeley Every Virtue Under Heaven" which is a quotation from Alexander Pope, a contemporary and devout Roman Catholic to whom Bishop Berkeley's dream of educating the "savages" was obviously appealing. The words: "St. Paul's College, B e r m u d a, Incorporated 1726," also appear.

September 6, 1728 for Newport, in a "private manner" in order to satisfy his subscribers.¹

In Rhode Island

Why did Berkeley sail for Newport when Bermuda was the logical destination? His letters to Percival and Prior supply the answer. First, his deanery was to be vacated eighteen months after he arrived in Bermuda; to avoid an unfortunate situation which might have been created he sailed to Newport. Second, he had already begun to doubt the wisdom of locating the college in Bermuda. Third, and a more practical reason, should he use Bermuda as the site of the college, he would use an estate in the mainland to supply the college with provisions. For any of these reasons Newport seemed favorable.²

Shortly before sailing, Berkeley had married Anne, the eldest daughter of John Forster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons (1707-9) and Chief Justice. She was strong, capable, and versatile. She was also well educated and practical--qualities which would be an asset to Berkeley during his mission to America.³

Berkeley sailed from Gravesend in September 1728, bound for Newport, Rhode Island. It was a long, stormy, and perilous voyage. Newman wrote to Cutler on January 31, 1729: "We are in great pain for Mr. Dean Berkeley who went hence the beginning of September last for Rhode Island that the last ship from N.E. brings no advice of

¹Luce, Proceedings, pp. 98-99; Berkeley to Bryan Fairfax, 7 June 1728; Berkeley to Prior, 5 September 1728.

²Luce, Life, p. 111.

³Berkeley to Prior, 5 September 1728.

his arrival."¹ He established himself in Rhode Island and bought a hundred-acre farm on which he built his Whitehall. For almost three years he waited for the promised government grant, hoping against hope.² The correspondence with Prior shows that during that time he did some heart searching and that he probably was experiencing some change of heart. Berkeley wrote from Newport, Rhode Island:

I find it hath been reported in Ireland that we propose to settle here: I must desire you to discountenance any such report. The truth is, if the King's bounty were paid in, and the charter could be removed hither, I should like it better than Bermuda. But if this were mentioned before the payment of said money it might perhaps hinder it, and defeat all our designs.

Berkeley, acting on this advice and convinced that he had miscalculated, tried to secure a transference of the College from Bermuda to Rhode Island. But every argument for Rhode Island was against Bermuda and his case became increasingly precarious. In vain he tried to recoup his fortune. Newman's letters indicate the turn of events. On September 29, Newman wrote:

I can't yet learn that the 20 thousand pounds is paid, tho I have called on Dr. Clayton and sent him word of this opportunity of writing but he was not at home either time. If the government are in earnest to erect the College where it may be most effectual to answer the purposes of it, I hope that will not refuse the leave you desire of translation, especially when they see such good reasons for it as I doubt not but you have offered . . .

Newman went on to say that the tactics in political circles

¹Luce, Proceedings, p. 102.

²McClure, SPCK, p. 247.

³Berkeley to Prior, 12 June 1729.

⁴Newman to Berkeley, 17 September 1724, in McClure, SPCK, p. 244.

often cause such delays that "Projects built on dilatory grants must suffer extremely in the execution though never so well designed."¹ Newman suggests that Berkeley came to make his appeal in person as he would have a better chance of succeeding than even the most pretentious presentation of his friends.

Percival also expressed doubt in his letter of the 17th of January: "As to your payment from the Treasury I am wholly in the dark when it will come, but I fear your friends employed in it must have the greatest zeal and assiduity and more interest at Court to obtain it than you imagine."² Percival adds a note of concern about the attitude of the Irish towards the scheme.

The wits of Ireland have displayed themselves very lately in a weekly paper called the Tribune. I am sorry to see it reprinted here, because of the jest they make of your notion of matter and your Bermuda scheme. The author must need have a worse design than³ to divert his fancy because he times his ridicule so unluckily.

The Bishop of London sought to ascertain the progress of the scheme. Walpole's answer was disheartening:

If you put this question to me as a Minister, I must and can assure you that the money shall undoubtedly be paid, as soon as suits with public convenience, but if you ask me as a friend whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America expecting the payment of £20,000 I advise him by all means⁴ to return to Europe, and to give up his present expectations.

When Berkeley learned the attitude of Walpole toward the scheme, he realized the futility of the plan and decided to abandon it. Having made the necessary arrangements and finalized his business

¹Ibid.

²Percival to Berkeley, 17 January 1729, in Luce, Proceedings, p. 106.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 106.

transactions, he left Newport on September 9, 1731. He spent twelve days in Boston and then sailed for London; he arrived there on October 30, a saddened and disappointed man.¹ His plan for converting the Indians had not materialized as he had hoped.

Issues

The discussion of the efforts to provide higher education in Bermuda indicated that the road was not smooth nor the efforts continuous, but they were persistent. Several issues emerged during the conceptual stages of Berkeley's project. The major issues are now examined. One may conclude that the major issue revolved around finances and this in turn generated several side issues.

Financial: Berkeley had made detailed plans for his proposed college in Bermuda. The financial arrangements] were even more meticulously made--at least on paper, yet their implementation was one of the major issues. The arrangements seemed adequate; however, the government grant, the largest source of expected revenue never materialized. The plan accordingly came to a sad and abrupt end.

The issue of finances also became a concern of city men, traders, and others of "narrowly conceived commercial views." They were concerned that the college would foster the spirit of independence that was emerging in the American colonies. This spirit would produce an intelligent and influential elite. The college in the area would provide opportunities for a far greater number of students to become qualified than those who could have the opportunity of studying abroad.

¹Luce, Proceedings, p. 102.

This growing intelligent group would be a threat to their political and financial power. The issue became a burning one that could not be easily resolved not even by withholding funds.

Logistics: The logistics of the plan became a major issue that was somewhat related to the financial issue. Berkeley made an honest error in miscalculating the distance of ocean between the West Indies, America and Bermuda. The issue was that distance was an insuperable difficulty. A college in Bermuda could never have fulfilled the proposed objective. As Luce suggests Bermuda could never have become "The Athens of the West."¹ Its size and distance would make it difficult to obtain and maintain superior personnel and to provide adequate accommodation. This issue caused Berkeley a great deal of concern, especially when he realized the validity of the arguments in favor. While in America, awaiting the promised government grant, Berkeley himself seemed to have made definite plans to relocate his proposed college in a more conducive area, but these plans were not necessary, for his project never materialized.

Berkeley justified his choice of Bermuda in his Proposal "because of its correspondence with other parts of America" though he admitted it was a long way from the continent. "If we were to look for a spot, the nearest approaching to an equal distance from all the rest, I believe it would be found to be Bermuda."² Johnson seemed to be of the same opinion: "Bermuda lies in a spot surrounded with the

¹Luce, Proceedings, p. 106.

²Berkeley, Works, p. 389.

whole continent of English America." The dean was misled.¹ Good maps were rare and it was difficult to obtain accurate geographical information about distant places.

Political: One of the debatable concerns was the issue of Walpole's execution of the government plan. As Prime Minister, he was given the responsibility of overseeing the transfer of the funds from the sale of lands in St. Kitts. Were there political issues that impeded Walpole's implementing his duty? One may cite some evidence for an affirmative answer--Walpole's ambivalent feelings on the matter of the government grant. Gilman indicates that though Walpole had accepted the responsibility, he was reluctant to provide the funds.² Walpole's greater interest was in the Oglethorpe experiment in Georgia. In the course of events when Berkeley's experiment failed, Walpole released a portion of the funds for this experiment. Walpole vacillated and his response when pressed for an answer to the query about the prospects of Berkeley ever receiving the funds indicated that he hoped the grant would not materialize. He considered such a big government grant excessive.

Would there be a means of resolving these issues? The struggle would be hard, long, and unglamorous. Berkeley tried to find an amicable position. He experienced little difficulty in influencing the higher powers--the royalty, nobility, and the Houses of Parliament on the validity of the project; however, to convert individuals from the left to a more liberal view was difficult. Collective opposition remained

¹Luce, Proceedings, p. 107.

²Daniel C. Gilman, "Bishop Berkeley's Gifts to Yale College." New Haven Historical Society 1 (1865):153.

cold, critical, and non-supportive; the issues unresolved. Berkeley waited in Rhode Island in vain expectation. His hope faded forever.

Berkeley's American sojourn was not totally in vain, however. He took the opportunity to continue his writing and to meet American colonists. He wrote his philosophic Alciphron or the Minute Philosopher. His circle of friends included Yale graduates Samuel Johnson and Jared Eliot. On his return to England he made a generous gift of books to Yale; he also gave them the deed to his property in Newport. He convinced some of his subscribers to allow him to use the funds for the benefit of both Harvard and Yale. He sent both colleges gifts of books. It is also believed that the private subscriptions were shared among St. Christopher, Codrington College in Barbados, and Oglethorpe's experiment in Georgia. For his service and dedication, Dr. Berkeley was appointed Bishop of Cloyne in 1734. He was also offered the See of Clogher which he declined.

Berkeley's interest in his lifelong concern did not wane. On his return to England he continued to agitate for the planting of the gospel in foreign parts. His sermon preached for the SPG on their anniversary, 1723, the year of his return, is a passionate plea for supporting the cause. His text is appropriately taken from John 17:3 "This is Life eternal that they might know thee only true God and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent" sums up his devotion to the cause of Christ. This is the cause for which he risked his life, his means, his all.

By 1752, one might catch a glimpse of a man, with health impaired, residing in Oxford to assist in the supervision of his son. His health steadily declined; he was nearing the end of his journey.

One last public act must still be done before he left Cloyne. He signed a lease of the demesne lands in that neighborhood by which the poor housekeepers of Cloyne, Youghall, and Aghadda could be benefitted. He suffered a fatal heart attack and died on January 14, 1753.

However, his memory, his works, and the excellence of his moral character live on. The name of Bishop Berkeley will always be one of the most distinguished personalities of all time. His "college in the west" did not materialize. His name is perpetuated, however, in two institutions in the Western Hemisphere--the westernmost university in the United States, the University of California at Berkeley, and the Berkeley Institute in Bermuda.

Summary

The history of higher education and eighteenth-century Bermuda has highlighted the maritime activity in which Bermudians engaged and the dominant materialistic trends which resulted. It has shown the effect of the various trends on the interest in education in the colony. The chapter has described Berkeley's unsuccessful efforts to establish St. Paul's College.

The first section of the chapter discussed the religious and intellectual legacy which the English colonists received from England. It also discusses how the flourishing sea trade and the prosperity it brought affected the social and religious aspects of the Bermuda society. It illustrated on a small but sufficient plane the problems of a growing colony as it sought to formulate important societal values and to expand as far as limited social conditions would allow.

The second section gave an account of Berkeley's endeavors to establish a St. Paul's College in Bermuda--a project which was envisioned 100 years later than Copeland's effort. Had Berkeley's St. Paul's College succeeded, it would have been a totally independent institution, however, not a continuation or extension of Copeland's. This fact establishes discontinuity.

This account also highlighted Berkeley's persistence. Despite Walpole's vacillation, resistance from a group of London merchants, and even the discouraging suggestions and letters from some of his supporters, Berkeley persisted. As he intimated to Prior: "I am here in order to execute a design addressed for by parliament, and set on foot by His Majesty's royal charter. I think myself obliged to wait the event whatever course is taken in Ireland."¹

¹Berkeley to Prior, 7 May 1730, in Luce, Life.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN BERMUDA: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Bermuda was still a relatively small unimportant country though it had won a measure of international attention as a result of its maritime and ship-building industry during the eighteenth century. It would retain its relative unimportance until it was subjected to the impact of the changing societal norms, values, and aspirations of the nineteenth century. This century has been generally considered as a period of unprecedented decisive and significant change--an era when the traditional assumptions that guided practical activities were being universally questioned and in many instances being abandoned. The change was evident in varying degrees until 1834, the year when the slaves throughout the British empire were emancipated; it increased its tempo from that time to the end of the century. These developments which resulted exerted a profound interest on the education process; it, too, experienced a substantial and, in some ways, painful transformation.

This chapter presents a brief survey of the socio-economic, the religious, and philosophical aspects of this revolutionary age. The first section is a general discussion of the various forces of social change that pulsed through the Bermuda society and the influence they exerted in changing the directional pattern of the life-style

of the community. No attempt is made in this section to set strict, arbitrary, chronological parameters for these changes which merged almost imperceptibly--at times making it difficult to separate them. The second section explores in-depth the influence of these changes on educational policies and practices generally and more specifically on the provisions for higher learning. The emphasis is placed on the issues surrounding what was perhaps the most revolutionary project of the century--the establishment of an integrated school of higher learning in Bermuda. This event is treated in detail in an attempt to provide the reader with a clearer understanding of the intense emotional responses and verbal exchanges that erupted during the effort to create the institution.

The Economic Scene

The maritime industry of the eighteenth century that was described in the last chapter seemed to show signs of a long period of economic growth. As the first decade of the nineteenth century ended, however, there were visible signs of a declining trade and an ailing economy. The economic sanctions imposed on Britain and its colonies by the United States and France during the American Civil War were one of the main contributing factors to the decline. The closure of the ports of these countries to Bermuda's trade created economic hardships which were further exacerbated by the fierce competition of West Indian trade--especially from those islands which still enjoyed the benefits of free trade.¹

¹"Old Domestic Correspondence 1842-48," manuscript, Bermuda Archives; Royal Gazette, 28 November 1805, 15, 22 August 1812, 23, 30 January 1813, 30 December 1834.

The emancipation of the slaves in 1834 which deprived the slave owners of a cheap and readily available labor force also adversely affected both agricultural activities and the maritime industry.¹

As the economic decline became a grave reality, the local government and the colonial government in England, were hard-pressed to find viable alternatives for coping effectively with the unsettling economic woes. The local government favored the revival of agriculture and fostered a strong, national surge to re-create interest in agricultural pursuits. They promoted the use of modern agricultural techniques and greater crop selectivity, invited English farmers who were experts in various aspects of agriculture to demonstrate and transmit their skills to the residents and to form agricultural societies. They organized agricultural exhibitions, which are still a popular annual national feature, these activities enhanced the revival of agriculture. Once more, onions, sugar-cane, arrowroot, potatoes, Easter lilies, and other commodities became the basis of a profitable agricultural industry which retained its status as the staple industry of Bermuda until the first quarter of this century.²

The economic recovery was further strengthened by a gradual resurgence of the maritime industry. Concurrently there were two major developments around the mid-century that had the potential to

¹ Bermuda, Legislative Council, Minutes of Council in Assembly, 9 January-9 September 1840, pp. 61-64; John Ogilvy, Bermuda Past and Present (Hamilton, Bermuda: S. Nemes, 1883), pp. 32-36.

² Bermuda, Bermuda Government, Blue Book: Report, 1840, pp. 146-148; 1857, pp. 147-150; 1860, pp. 146-148; 1900, pp. 146-148; 1930, pp. 145-147; Theodore Godet, Bermuda: Its History, Geology, Climate, Products, Agriculture, Commerce, and Government (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1860), pp. 98-107.

make a great contribution to the economy; they were the birth of the tourist industry and the construction of HM Dockyard in the western end of the colony. Beginning as a trickle around 1850, the tourist industry showed signs of definite inherent possibilities. Though in its initial stages, it was beset by a series of delays and financial reverses, by 1863 the permanence of the industry seemed attainable. From that time the industry experienced a steady growth and became a pervasive force in all areas of society. Improvements in transportation, communication, and amenities were quickly made and Bermuda began to assume the appearance and characteristics of a modern urban community.¹

The establishment of a safe harbor and dockyard around the waters at Ireland Island had a considerable positive effect in boosting the economy. The Royal British Navy had acknowledged the desirability of such an undertaking since 1809 or earlier, however, little progress was made in implementing the plan until 1815 when an extensive land reclamation and construction project got underway.² A much larger labor force was necessary than the local supply could furnish and convicts were sent from England to augment the work force. The first Convict Hulk arrived in Bermuda in 1823. This was the beginning of a steady stream of convicts in Bermuda. Between 1823 and 1861, over 9,084 convicts had arrived in Bermuda. Over 2,041 of them

¹Bermuda, Bermuda Pocket Almanack (Hamilton, Bermuda: Royal Gazette Office, 1850-1865).

²Bermuda, Dockyard, "Record of Commander in Charge," manuscript, Bermuda Archives, p. 3; Ian Stranack, The Andrew and the Onions: The Story of the Royal Navy in Bermuda, 1795-1975 (Hamilton, Bermuda: Island Press, n.d.), pp. 3-15; W. E. Brockman, "Growth of a Naval Base, 1795-1932," manuscript, Bermuda Archives, pp. 3-4.

succumbed to the adverse effects of the climate and to disease. Most of the survivors as well as the local population, the immigrants who sought career opportunities, enjoyed the material advantages of the project and the Bermuda economic situation improved.¹ The availability of work attracted immigrants. This influx of immigrants affected the population growth; the population figures rose from 10,612 in 1823 to 17,535 by the turn of the century.²

New Social Trends

Social Activities

Such a period of prosperity that resulted from a more differentiated economy based on agriculture, trade, and industry created increasing wealth for the businessmen and the upper class. Joshua Marsden stated that these individuals sought to enjoy a life-style in keeping with their wealth, tastes, and desires. This new life jostled for its existence among the simplicity and regularity of a traditional rural community. Gaiety, mirth, frivolity, and extravagance characterized the new life-style. Violence, dissipation, vice, and the tendency to disregard law and order prevailed. These new customs and practises were not the exclusive privileges of the wealthy and the whites. Negroes, too, organized their versions of these past times and activities. They engaged in various forms of festivities, parties, and balls, and often dressed and feasted on such occasions "more elaborately" than

¹W. Branch Johnson, The English Prison Hulks (London: Phillmore, 1897), p. 165.

²Blue Book 1823, p. 49; Blue Book 1900, p. 222.

the whites.¹ The wealthy lavished their riches on their houses, and furnishings, gardens, carriages, and other symbols of prosperity, and their secularistic tendencies became an area of growing concern among the spiritual leaders.²

New Literary and Intellectual Interests

There were other areas in which secularistic tendencies were viewed with growing concern. Traditionally, the Bible was the supreme book and there was a very narrow concept of the utility and purpose of "secular" literature. Slowly, as a new emphasis was placed on "this-worldliness," the educated men and others genuinely interested in secular literature extended the limited circle of their literary interests. The literary associations of Bermuda were effective incentives in fostering this new desire for intellectual stimulation. This period marks the connection of many outstanding poets as well as some minor ones with Bermuda including Washington Irving, Anthony Trollope, Dean Howells, Samuel Clemens (more popularly known by his pseudonym, Mark Twain), and John Tabb. The Poet Laureate of Bermuda, however, was Thomas Moore, who spent many months in Bermuda recording his fascination with the charm and beauty of the island and its inhabitants.³

Opportunities for intellectual stimulation became more numerous

¹"Journal of Lord Mark Kerr," manuscript, Bermuda Archives, 16 February 1843.

²Marsden, Narrative, pp. 141-149; Suzette Lloyd, Sketches of Bermuda (London: James Cochrane, 1835), pp. 60-63, 169-172; Royal Gazette, 11 October 1830; 8 June 1835; 22 September 1856.

³Bessie Gray, A Bermuda Garden of Song (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1927), pp. 3, 12, 19-22; Godet, Bermuda, pp. 95-96; William Zuill, Bermuda Journey (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Book Stores, 1946), pp. 19-26.

and diversified with the appearance of local newspapers, the availability of more foreign journals and newspapers from abroad, and with the organization of a public library for whites. The Royal Gazette Weekly, a newspaper published by Donald McPhee, who arrived in Bermuda in 1828 to serve as the Queen's printer for the colony, first appeared on January 8 of that year. Later, the Bermuda Colonist, another weekly paper, made its debut in 1866. These papers combined in 1921 to provide daily coverage; the joint effort was published under the title The Royal Gazette and Colonist Daily. This paper served as an effective medium for making reports of House Debates and other important government information available to the public.¹

A group of individuals who were interested in increasing the literature available to the whites established what they termed "a popular library" in 1839. The governor, William Reid, and the members of the Hamilton Club, a group formed by the elite for social interaction, were the foremost leaders in this project. The original "library" had a holding of 276 volumes, but the demand for more literature quickly increased. This library formed the nucleus of the present Bermuda Library which houses over 140,000 volumes, a large variety of journals, periodicals, and newspapers. The reference section is an invaluable source of reference not only for Bermuda references but a great deal of international information as well.²

The Negroes had little or no access to the benefits of the public library so they sought to provide opportunities for enlightenment

¹Bermuda Colonist, 7 July 1866; Royal Gazette and Colonist Daily, 1 January 1921.

²"Public Library Act, 1839," no. 4, Public Acts, 1:216; Royal Gazette, 30 May 1839, 27 July 1939, 20 October 1982.

and intellectual improvement by founding a circulating library of 111 volumes for themselves in 1843. This "Library for the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge" was founded "to provide for the mutual improvement and advancement in educational subjects . . . by furnishing it with such works as shall be best suited to the capacities of our people and most likely to lead them on, particularly our youth, to intelligence and usefulness."¹

The contents of the volumes for this library were of a high quality and intellectual tone. They were obtained from those Negroes who had benefited from their status as free blacks, and who had sought further schooling and enlightenment pursuant to the endeavors of Joshua Marsden, Joshua C. DePassau, Methodist missionaries to Bermuda, and other outstanding clergymen of Bermuda including Bermuda's first Archdeacon, Aubrey George Spencer, later first Bishop of the diocese of Newfoundland. The governor also contributed several periodicals, a liberal donation in money, and generally expressed his approval of the undertaking.²

Bermudians, of whatever social class, taste, or race, were becoming increasingly aware of the events transpiring locally and internationally and of the opportunities for enlightenment on a variety of issues. This paved the way for cultural change.

Influence of Romanticism

The greater exposure to and awareness of events both local

¹Bermuda, Domestic Correspondence, 1842-1848, no. 23; manuscript, Bermuda Archives; Bermuda Pocket Almanack, 1850, p. 31.

²Royal Gazette, 18 October 1843; 7 August 1849.

and international through these media paved the way for greater knowledge of current philosophies and ideologies. Bermudians became more knowledgeable about Romanticism, a new philosophy which was rapidly replacing the ideology of Reason. The Romanticists sought to promote individualism. It was expressed in many forms including the right of the individual to acquire wealth through free competition and a "laissez-faire" attitude on the part of government. The philosophy exalted the spirit of independence and self-reliance until in its extremest form it overshadowed the common good. It sought to give the individual greater control over his destiny and that of his society. Reinforced with American democracy and its credo--the right of the individual to achieve his highest potential, it became the rallying cry for exploding the theory of divine determinism with its many moral defects and its condoning of grave social injustices. It thus, directly or indirectly, assented to the inhumane treatment and the indignities perpetrated on slaves. The emphasis on the individual gradually led to public outcry against the dehumanizing of individuals. In England and its colonies, the final phases of this intense, long, and bitter ideological struggle led to the emancipation of the slaves in 1834.¹

The Religious Scene

These new social customs and philosophies conflicted with the traditional religious customs and the concept of work and leisure. Like most countries of the period, Bermuda subscribed to the

¹Great Britain, Laws, Statutes, etc., An Act for the Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Colonies, 3 & 4 Will 4 Case 1, 23, quoted in Royal Gazette Extra, 10 January 1834; Bermuda, Legislature, "The Emancipation Act," 1834: no. 2, in Public Acts 1:162-164.

religio-social concept of a work-oriented society which emphasized labor as the main source of personal salvation, self-improvement, and social perfection. The emergent practices seemed to facilitate the trend to increased leisure time and to greater time spent in social activities. The ecclesiastical leaders were concerned that Bermuda would change to a leisure-oriented society which would result in an even greater ailing economy, a perverted life-style, and the increase of "this-worldly" interests.¹

A successful effort was made as early as 1808 by the Methodists to counteract the trend of secularism and materialism, by the arrival of Joshua Marsden, a missionary from Newfoundland with specific instructions to preach to Negroes.² On his arrival he soon found some opposition from among the whites. They resisted his efforts to convert Negroes to Christianity. Marsden recognized that the spiritual condition of the inhabitants was deplorable, yet he accepted his difficult task. He remarked: "In this little mercenary place [Bermuda] nothing is esteemed but money: the people are chiefly of one religion, that of money, pleasure, vanity, while the Trinity they believe in and worship is the world, the flesh and the devil."³

Marsden's mission to Bermuda though beset with difficulties, bigotry, and discouragement had many positive effects. He reported toward the end of his first year "the rays of divine truth have

¹Marsden, pp. 144-145; "Old Domestic Correspondence," 1848: no. 10, 26 April 1842, Bermuda Archives.

²Marsden, Narrative, pp. 119, 132-133.

³Joshua Marsden to Dr. Coke, 18 February 1810.

pierced . . . the palmetto cottage of the poor Negro." During his final year in Bermuda, 1812, he wrote with delight before his departure:

Many begin to notice the great change that has taken place especially among the Blacks and colored people, the blasphemer serious, the drunkard sober, Sabbath breaker devout, whoremonger chaste, the ignorant informed, and the illiterate beginning to read, these are some of the fruits produced by the gospel in this wicked island.¹

The Educational Scene

The economic prosperity, the changing social practices, and the new philosophies created an altered outlook with regards to the adequacy of the current educational policies and practices, especially those that pertained to Negroes. The churches, the religious societies, and philanthropic organizations endeavored to improve the standard of education. As the Negroes availed themselves of greater educational opportunities in increasing numbers, the societies experienced financial hardships in catering to the 681 students. They found it necessary to approach the government for assistance. The first legislative grants were approved in 1839. This action marked the beginning of government financial assistance. The grants continued, but by 1858, government was urged into taking a more effective part in education.² The moving spirit was the Governor, Charles Elliott, who from his initial official address indicated that one of his major objectives was that of improving the educational system.

His address to Parliament in April 1847 stressed the importance

¹Idem, 12 February 1812.

²Royal Gazette, 5, 20 August 1839, 17 July 1849, 17 July 1858.

of "religious and useful education for the youth of the colony."¹

He further elaborated on the theme by stating:

It would be superfluous to dwell upon the equal claim of all classes of all people to that generous nurture so necessary for the common contentment, and for inculcating a becoming sense of the rights and responsibilities of freemen. Neither can it be doubted that you are alive to the diffusion of knowledge and improvements in science which distinguish the age we live in, and deeply solicitous, to promote that advanced condition of civilization in your own favored land.²

The governor proposed the adoption of a plan of public aid that would provide popular education. Subsequently, a committee of the Council and Assembly was appointed to review the status of education. Their recommendations included: (1) The appointment of an Inspector to standardize the examination system, and (2) the establishment of a normal school for the training of teachers.

No action was taken on the "normal school" recommendation; however, a Board of Education was organized on August 10, 1857. The Schools Act of 1858 provided for a Board of Education, an Inspector of Schools, and a grant of £450. The Schools Act of 1879 (1) created the post of Inspector of Schools, as a full time position; (2) created local boards in each parish, (3) provided an annual grant of 1200; and (4) provided compulsory school attendance.³ The authority of

¹Bermuda, House of Assembly, "Minutes of Speech by H. E. the Governor Charles Elliott," in Royal Gazette, 21 April 1847.

²Bermuda, House of Assembly, Second Report of the Board of Education in Bermuda, reprinted in Royal Gazette, 17 July 1849; see also 5, 12, 19, 26 October, 2, 9 November 1847.

³Bermuda, Board of Education, Annual Report (Bermuda: Director of Education, 1879), p. 1 (hereafter cited as Annual Report); Bermuda Legislature, "The Schools Act, 1858," 1858, no. 16, in Public Acts II, pt. 1, sec. 3; "The Schools Act, 1879," 1879, no. 3, in Public Acts II, pt. 3, sec. 2.

the local and general Board of Education was expanded and the facilities and equipment of all schools were improved, though the whites received superior facilities, equipment, and a larger share of the educational grant. Thus one may state that what could be called a Bermuda system of education had been organized.

The school system was now state controlled. The transition from a traditionally church-based education to one legislated by the state was eventually completed when the religious societies withdrew their support from the schools. The change from a religiously oriented education with its restrictive influences to a more liberal form of education was a powerful incentive to the individualistic spirit of the times and another testimony to the revolutionary character of the age. By the mid-century, the report of the Inspector of Schools indicated that there were free schools for the education of the poor. There was general agreement that the schools had shown a great deal of improvement despite the lack of a training program for the teachers.¹

These schools provided basic training for all youth; however, there was a slavish clinging to the tradition of a segregated school setting (a practice which existed until 1965).² Most whites could neither support or condone the concept of integration as was being practiced in a few of the private schools. The concept of blacks as inferior in intellect and as sub-human still persisted in many areas. Most acknowledged that the rising generation of the colored race had improved intellectually; they were still considered only as a more intelligent

¹ Annual Report, 1850-1950.

² See Appendix B.

labor force.¹ They were unequal and inferior and so they must remain. But would they? No. The Negroes had been exposed to the sweet rewards of intellectual knowledge. They were determined to attain the highest intellectual level and to achieve this goal independently, even if no white individual or group of white individuals or white organizations provided the means. Education ranked high on their list of priorities.

Higher Education

Efforts by Blacks

Augustus Swan and Thomas Chester were two of the outstanding black pioneers in making higher education available to blacks. Swan's Seminary operated partly on his personal funds and on tuition, but this income was enlarged by subscriptions raised by black sympathizers who made their initial contribution in a large public meeting held at St. John's Church, thus reinforcing their determination to support the school.²

The school announced that its primary objectives were the pursuit of academic excellence and paying strict attention to moral and religious training. A school committee who had visited Swan's Seminary gave a favorable report. They were pleased with the general appearance of the school, the conduct of the students, and the excellent academic performance. Financial retrenchment, unpaid accounts, and

¹John Gilles, Memoirs of Rev. George Whitfield (New Haven: Whitmore, 1834), pp. 119-120.

²Bermuda, Board of Education, Report (Hamilton, Bermuda: School Committee for the Central District), September 1845; Royal Gazette, 9, 12 September 1845.

other ills plagued the school almost from its inception until it was finally closed in 1850.¹

A later effort to provide higher education for blacks materialized with the establishing of "Chester Seminary." Mr. J. J. Thomas, the owner and principal, conducted his school on high standards of academic, moral, and religious principles. His wife conducted classes for girls where they were instructed primarily in plain and fancy needlework. The school won a high reputation for its academic excellence. "Londoner", a pseudonym, visited the school and was pleasantly surprized at the educational level of the students. He complimented Mr. Thomas on his effective administration and remarked that "the children possessed powers equal to that of the same number of children to be found in any of our best" National Schools in England. Chester Seminary was also of short duration, however, during its existence it established an excellent record.²

The movement by blacks for widening the opportunities for higher education for blacks was initiated in an effort to eradicate the adverse effects that "they had suffered [from] the two heaviest ills of bondage--a political incapacity to receive equal justice, and a spiritual privation of religious instruction and happiness,"³ were determined to improve the intellectual talents they undoubtedly possessed and open a wider field for intellectual growth. They continued to seek to organize schools of higher learning in face of the many inequities and

¹Royal Gazette, 16, 17, 23 October 1853.

²Royal Gazette, 23 December 1858.

³Lloyd, Sketches, p. 94.

prejudices demonstrated by the whites and the Board of Education.

Efforts Made by Whites

Blacks were not always the sole supporters of the concept of higher education for blacks. There were liberal-minded whites who recognized that only the educated individual could be qualified to perform the duties of honest men and good citizens and discharge their civil obligations. Many of the distinguished leaders of church and state in England focused their interests on providing opportunities for higher education for the youth in the colonies regardless of race or ethnic origin. Many noble, though abortive efforts were made to achieve these objectives.

Providing opportunities for higher education for the colonists in the New World held a peculiar attraction for many distinguished leaders of church and state in England since the earliest days of colonization. The primary motive for this ideal, though permeated with religion, was not merely religious. One of the main objectives was the transmission of Old World civilization to the New; the extension and perpetuation of British influence and the enhancement of national greatness. Many noble, though often abortive, attempts were made to achieve these objectives.¹

The years 1816-1889 marked the height of a proliferation of institutions of higher learning. These institutions varied both in organizational design and in the composition of the student body. Some still clung to traditional customs and practices and were available

¹Brown, Genesis, 1:3-19; West, p. 15.

only to white boys. Others were either autonomous Negro institutions or were established on more liberal views and extended the privileges of higher education to Negroes and later to women.¹ Characteristically, these liberalizing educational endeavors encountered a great deal of difficulty in seeking to implement the program of many of these institutions. Perhaps the most highly publicized and most controversial of these efforts, however, were those spearheaded by the Rev. William C. Dowding, who sought to establish an institution of higher learning primarily for Negroes.

Dowding: Biographical Sketch

William Dowding was a young clergyman of the Church of England. He was amiable, accomplished, full of zest and vigor. Lord Bishop of Newfoundland, Edward Field, in whose diocese he served while in Bermuda, described him as "a clergyman of our church [the church of England] who has natural talents of no mean order, enlarged by study, observation and experience."² He graduated from Oxford with honors and later entered the ministry of the Church of England as a parish priest. He became an active member of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), one of the three

¹JHA, 3, 17 August 1852, 12 April 1853, 18 September, 30 October 1855; Royal Gazette, 23 August 1859.

²Edward Field to His Excellency the Governor Charles Elliott, 17 April 1851, cited in William Charles Dowding, The Revival of Bishop Berkeley's Bermuda College: Extracts of Correspondence (London: R. Clay, 1841).

societies founded by the Rev. Thomas Bray.¹ Dowding showed keen interest in the missionary activities of the society generally and became actively involved in its educational programs in England and Europe. He obtained an opportunity for missionary service when he was assigned a tour of duty to Bermuda as a substitute for the Rev. Marischal Keith Smith Frith in 1851.²

Dowding's involvement with the educational activities of his society and his months of missionary service in Bermuda revealed the inhumanity of the whites to the Negroes in a greater perspective than he had perceived it before. He stated that "the circumstances of the West Indies are scarcely realized in England. Men know that their condition is improving, yet but few persons are acquainted with the true aspect of things."³ Dowding had the privilege of obtaining first-hand information and of observing the Negroes from many perspectives. The reality of their current situation was disconcerting to him, and Dowding felt an impelling urgency to become involved in a program for their intellectual improvement. He was convinced that much more could be done to provide educational opportunities for

¹Rev. Thomas Bray, a protagonist of the cause of the Church of England, eagerly sought to spread its influence throughout the New World. He established three societies for this purpose. The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was designed to promote the gospel in England and Europe. The Society for the Spread of Christian Knowledge beamed its efforts towards the American colonies, while the Bray Associates (1701) catered to the needs of Negroes. See McClure, SPCK, pp. 160-166.

²Royal Gazette, 23 September 1851; Henry C. Wilkinson, "Dowding's College," Bermuda Historical Quarterly 20 (Spring 1963):44-51.

³William C. Dowding, Africa in the West: Its State, Prospects, and Educational Needs (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1852), p. 7 (hereafter cited as Dowding, Africa).

Negroes who in his opinion had the intellectual ability but were never given a fair opportunity.

Concept and Treatment of Slaves

Societal practices had directed and required that Negroes be relegated to the lowest round of the social ladder. In time they would even be denied this status and would be regarded as slaves: chattel property condemned to perform the menial tasks.¹ Dowding, writing on the status of Negroes, stated that the majority of the Negroes there were involved in agricultural pursuits on the small Bermuda farms. Some male slaves worked at whatever trade or occupation their master pursued: carpentry, shipbuilding, fishing, and masonry. The female slaves were usually cooks, housemaids, nurses, field hands, or were engaged in other activities. Whatever their occupation they were the labor force of the colony. From an early age they were assigned to a future occupation for which little or no formal education was required. Most masters, however, were encouraged to provide minimal instruction for the Negroes to enable them to read the Bible. Relevant passages of Scripture tended to make them more subservient; more accepting of the subservient role to which society had assigned them. The reading of the Bible was also designed to help them to acquire the Christian virtues including honesty, sobriety, and gentleness. The study of the Bible also helped slaves to prepare for heaven (if indeed they had souls) for the devastating myth persisted that Negroes were subhuman. They were perceived as an intermediate

¹CSP 1574, pp. 259-260; 1670-1675, p. 13; HMC VIII, 2, pp. 34-35.

race, between man and monkey, and who were devoid of intellectual culture. They were mere brutes, who were salable like brutes and who should live and be treated like brutes. To the whites they were "animals wearing monkey-faces, who were expected to treat their masters [the humans] with the greatest respect; who "had just enough wit to be cunning and knew just enough English to lie."¹

The perpetuation of this concept of the status of Negroes led to the logical conclusion that Negroes required little or no education. As a result they got little or none. True, some slaves who were the offspring of a miscegenous relationship had the opportunity to receive formal elementary and even higher education. In some instances a benevolent master would make provision in his will for the education of a deserving slave. Though the religious societies had begun to admit Negroes to the schools before and especially after emancipation, the difficult and demanding tasks imposed upon the Negroes made it virtually impossible for them to attend classes regularly; as a result the educational achievements of the Negroes were usually low.²

Educational deficiencies notwithstanding, Dowding foresaw a great future for the Negro race. He recognized that "fortunes such as never hung suspended on the issue of battle or revolution are

¹Dowding, Africa, p. 17; Marsden, pp. 155-156.

²Godet, Bermuda, pp. 150-151; James Christie Esten, A Plan for the Religious, Moral, and General Instruction and the Beneficial Management of the Concerns of the Emancipated People of Colour of the Bermudas (London: John Hearne, 1837), pp. 16-18; Lloyd. Sketches, pp. 60-63, 167-170; McClure, pp. 160-166.

involved in this peaceful crisis [the aftermath of slavery] which is even now in operation."¹

Dowding poignantly asked: "Are we prepared to meet it? Have we seriously thought of its importance? Much must be left to the control of a higher power, but something we ourselves can effect."²

Dowding Initiates His Plan

Dowding resolved to dedicate himself to playing a role in effecting that "something" that individuals could activate. As he indicated in the "Preface" to Africa in the West, he would devote his talents, efforts, and time in fitting the Negroes "for the completest mental training; and for all the social privileges such training involves."³

Dowding began to make definite plans for accomplishing his goal of providing higher education for Negroes. Dowding used the terms "College" and "University" synonymously when defining his educational institution. The same procedure is followed in this paper. (The terms "Negro" and "black" are also used interchangeably.)

Promoting the Plan: Bermuda

While in Bermuda, Dowding consulted with the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland, Edward Field, whose diocese included Bermuda. The bishop was greatly impressed with Dowding's plans, the details of

¹William C. Dowding, The Revival of Bishop Berkeley's Bermuda College: Extracts of Correspondence (London: R. Clay, 1841), p. 5 (hereafter cited as Dowding, Extracts).

²Ibid., p. 10.

³Idem, The Revival of Bishop Berkeley's Bermuda College: A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Henry Goulbourn, M.P. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1852), p. 4 (hereafter cited as Dowding, Goulbourn).

which are presented later in the discussion of the plans in the pamphlet Africa in the West. He gave Dowding much encouragement. He also commended both Dowding and his plan to the Governor of Bermuda, Charles Elliott. The bishop wrote that "he often [took] advantage of his [Dowding's] knowledge and experience [and] consulted and conferred with him on the best means of advancing the education both of the white and colored races of Bermuda."¹ The bishop also expressed his confidence in Dowding's ability to undertake such a project successfully in these words: "I hardly think that it [the project] could have been taken up by abler or worthier hands."²

The governor was not as enthusiastic as the bishop. He had some reservations over the plan; and advised a more cautious approach. He did not doubt Dowding's ability to perform such an undertaking for Dowding had proved to be "earnest in his proposes, distinct in their explanation, and of gentle and persuasive manners."³

Promoting the Plan: England

Dowding was encouraged by the response he received from the two leading dignitaries of church and state in Bermuda. On his return to England in 1851, and with the approval of these two personalities, he launched an active campaign to win support for his proposal. His main 'modus operandi' was a pamphlet Africa in the West which he published in 1851.⁴ In it he set forth the premise on which he based

¹Dowding, Extracts, p. 6.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Dowding, Africa, pp. 5-30.

his hopes for national support and for the success of the project. He reasoned that the project should win wide support since it had the potential of making a valuable contribution towards resolving a grave current national social problem; one to which the attention of the colonial office was currently directed--the advancement of the Negroes. These Negroes comprise "Africa in the West." This "Africa in the West" was created by the British, not from philanthropic motives but because of "gain of lucre" and by the "demon of avarice." The Africans were uprooted, dispossessed, and by brute force transported over the wide expanse of ocean without hope or means of returning. They had no other alternative but to make this new land their home. Their performance over the years gave every indication they were willing and able to develop a prosperous region in the west. Dowding believed that his proposed project would provide opportunities for the advancement of the Negroes and help them to advance from national infancy to maturity through enlightened and educated citizenry.¹ It was Dowding's opinion that "the responsibilities of freedom have had their effect in checking [some of their] exhuberance . . . and a more careful education, and higher objects of pursuits, [would] henceforth prevent their powers from running to waste."²

Though progress had been made in educational improvement of Negroes since emancipation in 1834, a great deal more needed to be done to assist the Negroes, for though

. . . at first sight it may seem that their freedom is ours; and that in setting them at liberty from the bonds of slavery,

¹Dowding, Africa, pp. 6, 8, 9-15.

²Ibid., p. 11.

we set ourselves at liberty from all other further care, in equality the case is otherwise: emancipation after all, was but a¹ feeble amend and left behind it much remaining to be done.

Greater involvement of a larger segment of the community could accomplish much more. Some individuals had become involved in such projects. Prior to and after emancipation, religious and philanthropic societies had made great efforts to bridge the gap between past academic achievement and future goals by providing educational opportunities at the elementary level for youth of both races. These arrangements were commendable; however, Dowding realized that many Negroes were at an advanced intellectual level where they could successfully undertake a college education. Their intellectual powers needed further stimulation.² Dowding was convinced that for this group,

It was not enough to open up a grammar-school . . . We want indeed, a University, and of the most effective stamp, a visible impersonation of thought and learning which shall pour out its treasurest unceasing stream; broad enough and deep enough to quench a nation's thirst, and of volume sufficient to maintain its own freshness . . . But important as is this point . . . what we need even more than the Professor and his lectures, is the refining influence of a Christian home . . . We must not only teach them but take them to dwell with us; we must save them from every mean and debasing association and surround them with the symbol of elevation and honor.³

The Revival of Berkeley's Project

The machinery for implementing such a project as he proposed was readily available, Dowding stated. "Not only is a University provided ready to hand, with all the apparatus of Academical degrees,

¹Ibid., p. 13; idem, Goulbourn, pp. 15-17.

²Dowding, Africa, passim.

³Dowding, Africa, pp. 16-17.

but its form is precisely such as our needs require; and a voice which no one can presume to except against, has affirmed (à priori) the very principle which meets our case."¹

Dowding had become acquainted with Berkeley's aspirations in his capacity as a priest of the Church of England and during his stay in Bermuda. Various aspects of Berkeley's project to establish an institution of higher learning in Bermuda appealed to Dowding. A brief historical outline of the plan is appropriate here. In 1725 Bishop Berkeley outlined an ambitious plan for the converting of the savage Americans to Christianity. The proposal was widely received by various segments of the English society and by the government. The government granted its charter and seal and a promise of a large grant of £20,000.² Berkeley proceeded to make detailed plans for the establishment of the college. He obtained many private donations and contributions. But the government grant never materialized and Berkeley was forced to abandon the idea.

The prospects for reviving Berkeley's plan were enticing from many perspectives. (1) The charter had not lapsed and some of the remaining funds from the private contributions Berkeley received were still being held in trust by the church societies. (2) The locale Berkeley had recommended (Bermuda) still held the same attractions. The climate was still "salubrious" and ideal for promoting health and vigor. (3) The natural protection from the surrounding reefs still existed. This asset was enhanced by the naval station which had

¹Berkeley, Proposal, pp. 6-7.

²CSP 1724, pp. 328, 364; Royal Gazette, 23 November 1852.

recently been erected. (4) The inhabitants were still plain, innocent folk, free from avarice, from luxury, and "other corrupting vices." They were generally adherents of the tenets of the Church of England and had not been exposed to the barbaric influences that impeded the progress of some of the West Indian islands.¹

These features further confirmed Dowding's belief that it would be ideal to engraft his plan on that of Berkeley's; the concepts seemed so similar in every essential detail. In fact, he was convinced that his scheme was "the very own scheme of Berkeley himself merely writing the word "negro" where he wrote "Indian"--the philosophy, principles, goals, and objectives were identical.²

Suggestions for Funding the Project

The next important feature which was to be considered was the funding of the project.³ Dowding anticipated that the financing of the project could be received from three main sources: wealthy coloured people, the Mother Country and the church societies, and the centers of learning. (1) Some of the coloured people in the West Indies had risen to honorable positions in their society and had acquired great wealth. Dowding anticipated that they would welcome an opportunity to assist in providing such a facility, for many of the universities and colleges in America and England were closed to Negroes. Even a small contribution from each family of the poorer classes--over half a million of them--would amount to a considerable sum. The free Negroes

¹Dowding, Africa, pp. 18-23.

²Ibid., p. 18.

³Ibid., pp. 25-28; idem, Extracts, pp. 4-5.

in America, he felt, would also be willing to make a contribution to an institution where their sons could receive higher education. Dowding recommended that the funds from this source could be used to provide scholarships and exhibitions (endowments for deserving students).

(2) Another potential source of income was the Mother Country. Actually it was its responsibility to provide such an education for the people it had transplanted and to whom it should make amends. The need to make such amends had aroused national awareness and interest in recent years. It should not be very difficult to convince the legislature and people in various social strata to supply funds for the physical plant and for endowments and match the contributions from the West Indies.

The contributions of the great Church societies would augment the general national support. It would be inconceivable for them not to become actively involved when their own primary concern was education. Further they still held the Berkeley funds in trust. The release of these funds would swell the amount generally available and increase the amount needed for capital outlay and other expenses.

(3) The great centers of learning, the universities, especially the Dublin University, that proudly claims Berkeley as its graduate and fellow (despite the misgivings of the Governor of Bermuda), should also be invaluable sources for expertise as well as funds for establishing exhibitions and scholarships for students and endowments for the President and faculty.¹ As Dowding stated, "It rests with them to put the finishing stroke to that great work; to give form and completeness

¹Dowding, Africa, pp. 24-29.

to what were otherwise a fragment; and by opening to the men of colour an academical career to mould and fashion their whole national life."¹

These were the salient points of Dowding's proposal for St. Paul's College. Dowding ended his proposal with a note of optimism and finality. He assured his supporters:

Success is certain if we pursue this course. . . . All things considered Bermuda may yet become what Berkeley wished it; a center of civilization 'a reservoir' as he writes 'of learning and religion' with 'rivulets perpetually running' through the West: not a local Grammar School, nor a mere Diocesan College; but a veritable 'Universitas' in its broadest sense; an Iona to all who love truth and soberness, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the shores of Surinam."

"Let us not," he advised, "be so mercenary and narrow visioned as to withhold support from such a worthy project."² Such were the contents of Dowding's campaign pamphlet.

The English Patrons

The pamphlet was widely circulated and though Dowding hoped to gain the support of all segments of society, he concentrated on the leading personalities in England and Bermuda and the West Indies. In England the arguments presented in the pamphlet received an enthusiastic response from the leading intelligensia of the nation. Dowding indicated that though it was the busiest season and the busiest portion of that season when every plan was seeking to obtain some time on the public calendar that a meeting to "affirm a great fact and to act

¹Ibid., p. 28.

²Ibid., p. 26.

upon it" took precedence over other important concerns.¹ The eminent personalities who attended the meeting included the Archbishops of Canterbury (John Bird), of York, Armagh, and Dublin, fifteen or more Lord Bishops, the Deans of Canterbury and St. Asaph, the Marquis of Bristol, the Earl of Carlisle, the Masters, Presidents, and Rectors of various colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, some of the highest as well as the best of the laity and other outstanding individuals. These patrons gave their support both morally and financially; their subscriptions ranged from £5.0.0 to £100.0.0, the largest being made by the Lord Bishop of Newfoundland.²

The machinery for implementing the proposed project was set in motion. A committee for implementing the plan was formed. It included the President, the Lord Bishop of London, and the Vice-Patrons: the four archbishops. It was a good representative group from the middle and upper classes. The committee drew up a Prospectus for the Revival of Bishop Berkeley's Bermuda College; the Prospectus was circulated to the leaders of church and state of the various islands.³

The pamphlet and the Prospectus won the admiration of the leading members of church and state in the West Indies as well. These advocates included the Archbishop of the Bahamas, John Gregory, himself an ardent believer in the principle of providing higher learning

¹Dowding, Goulbourn, p. 2.

²Dowding, Africa, p. 30-32; Royal Gazette, 29 June 1852.

³William C. Dowding, Prospectus for the Revival of Bishop Berkeley's College (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1852) (hereafter cited as Dowding, Prospectus).

opportunities for Negroes; he was profuse in his praise of the plan. He wrote to Dowding congratulating him on his courageous venture. He, like Dowding, had been greatly impressed by the infinite possibilities of the Negro race and had undertaken an educational program for the improvement of Negro youth in the Bahamas. His experience with them and their outstanding intellectual achievements at higher levels had given him ample proof to discredit the myth that the Negro race was incapable of intellectual culture. At the time of his writing, Gregory reported that four Bahamian Negro youth who had been locally trained were currently in Barbados preparing for Holy Orders while several others were occupying responsible positions in their community. He believed that

The grand [Emancipation] Act of 1833 (magnificent as it was) [would be] after all incomplete, unless followed up by some comprehensive measure for raising the Negro race in the West Indies in the scale of educated and intellectual beings. Your "Berkeley College" certainly does hold out the most feasible plan I have yet met with for accomplishing this grand end.¹

He believed, too, that the proposal had made such a great impact as to influence the Premier and the House of Commons in England "to make such ample provision in aid of the college, as will show the world that Great Britain is doing her best to wipe off the heavy debt she yet owes to the sons of Africa."²

The Bermuda Response

The response at the local level (Bermuda) was encouraging, too. The ecclesiastic head of the diocese of which Bermuda was a

¹ John Gregory to William C. Dowding, 26 July 1852, Cole Collection, Bermuda Library, Hamilton, Bermuda.

² Ibid.

part and the Governor of Bermuda, Charles Elliott had already endorsed the proposal. They both became vice-presidents of the College and made financial contributions to the project. The extent of the Lord Bishop's support and interest may be inferred by the fact that he made the largest personal donation of all subscribers--(\$100.0.0). Other outstanding persons in the local community also supported the project including the Acting Governor, Charles Eden; the Colonial Treasurer, Robert Kennedy; and several military officers of the Royal British Navy who were stationed in Bermuda at the time.¹

It seemed that the proposal would be acceptable to the local community; however, many of its supporters suggested it was advisable to call a general meeting to discuss the Prospectus. Accordingly, the Governor authorized that a public meeting be held for that purpose. The meeting convened in the Town Hall as announced. Though the audience was not large, it was representative of most segments of the community--influential persons, some of the most respectable merchants and other gentlemen in the island, and several persons of color who were respected in the community were in attendance. The meeting was an informative one since "it seemed advisable to abstain from any expression of feeling or opinion at this initial meeting"², but rather to provide an opportunity for individuals to weigh the facts of such a momentous proposition. Those present were notified that at the end of a stated period, it would be advisable to call another meeting to

¹Dowding, Prospectus.

²Royal Gazette, 3 June 1852.

give opportunity for public expressions on the matter, if circumstances warranted it.¹

Up to this point, Dowding saw no great need to be concerned about local public opinion. But a hornet's nest was in the making.

As in all projects for implementing change, especially when they deviate greatly from the norm, the plan generated some opposition from a local faction of the upper class who perceived it as a bold attempt to upset the traditional hierarchical order of society. However, superficially, at least, the general attitude was one of indifference and disinterest. The tide turned against Dowding and his plan some time between the initial public meeting in June 1852 and Dowding's return to Bermuda in November of the same year. Dowding stated that the debate over the merits of the proposed college became a highly emotive issue. Debate and discussion of the topic increased the fears and apprehensions of the white upper class that the order of society would be disrupted, the Negroes would become even more aggressive and antagonistic to their masters and most of them would no longer be willing to perform the menial tasks. This would bring many woes including economic ruin.² Influential whites became even more bitter and resistive when the Chief Justice reminded them that "although they (whites) would be welcomed very heartily to the college, it was not for them exclusively."³ The college would be designed as

¹Ibid.

²William C. Dowding, Religious Partizanship and Other Papers (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1854), pp. 162-165 (hereafter cited as Dowding, Religious Partizanship).

³Ibid., p. 151.

Berkeley envisioned his college "for a double object; to educate the white man, and to educate the dark. Neither purpose is pressed beyond the other. The design lies evenly between the extremities . . . It is simply a University, based on tried principles, and open to all who choose to use it."¹ They could not conceive of or accept a plan in which so much government finances and so many illustrious men were involved that was not designed primarily for whites. The Devonshire College, which was established for the elite--white boys--earlier in the century (1829) but which was now defunct had never been the recipient of such magnanimous support.² Why, then, make such generous provision for a school for a class of people one-third of whom are field-laborers and servants, and two-thirds, mechanics, fishermen, and seamen who, as Gray pointed out, "have no earthly prospect but making their living with spades in their hands, as their fathers did before them."³

The white population became increasingly alienated and their opposition assumed new and grave dimensions so that when Dowding arrived in Bermuda to lay plans for the opening of the college, he received a greeting that was anything but cordial. Sprawled across some walls in Hamilton were uncivil greetings: "Wanted! Rotten eggs to welcome the man who is coming to establish a college; for further particulars apply to the largest house in Queen St. . . . The college

¹Idem, Goulbourn, pp. 12-13.

²Private Acts, pt. 2, sec. 1, p. 103; Royal Gazette, 15 May, 20, 27 July, 10 August, 1829.

³S. Brownlow Gray, The Revival of Bishop Berkeley's College: A Letter to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury (London: Whitaker, 1853), p. 17 (hereafter cited as Gray, Revival).

should be build over the Devil's Hole and Mr. Dowding himself be put under it."¹

Finalizing the Plans

It was disconcerting to discover such a belligerent attitude, yet Dowding proceeded with his plans for opening the school. The support he received from the members of the black community was a great encouragement. A rising elite black group (some of whom had the opportunity to study at institutions of higher learning abroad), though a small minority, were willing to form and actually did form a club called the "Berkeley Society" in the 1850s for maintaining the present Collegiate school; and eventually, the College in its wider conception.² Artisans and craftsmen from the lower class blacks helped in whatever way their knowledge, ability, and practical experience permitted. The project was materializing--though on a smaller scale than originally intended. The Committee in England responsible for the project, acting on Dowding's suggestion, recommended that a collegiate (grammar) school be established initially and that it be gradually upgraded to college status--a normal procedure followed in initiating higher education programs in the New World.³ As Dowding indicated: this would be the educational level "till we make good our ground, the Bermuda College would be a school."⁴ The most promising students

¹Dowding, Religious Partizanship, p. 168.

²Ibid., p. 161.

³William and Mary Quarterly, p. 240.

⁴Dowding, Africa, p. 26; London, Bermuda College Committee, "Minutes of the Bermuda College Meeting, 20 June 1852," in Bermuda Royal Gazette, 26 July 1852.

would continue to work toward an academic degree. As the educational level rose the graduates would be Bye Fellows at Cambridge

. . . ranking in all social respects as a Fellow but having no voice in the College government. Such men might remain in residence for a term of years, to mature their knowledge and enlarge their status, or even to act as Assistant Tutors. By this means we progress naturally and without effort through the stages₁ which divide school from college reaching our [initial purpose].¹

January 3 was the date set for the opening of the school. Dowding sent circulars to this effect to the West Indies and the United States. He hoped to attract students from these areas, and to sustain the interest in the project. He published the details of the plans and programs in the local papers in Bermuda. The program of studies and the organizational procedures would follow the British model with minor modifications. The academic year would begin in the fall, October, and consist of three terms--Michaelmas (October to end of Christmas), Lent (from January to Easter), and Easter (from Easter to summer). The distinctions in the student body would be marked by academic dress and ability to pay (as in the universities), rather than on academic performance or achievement. The grades and educational advantages would be the same as in the English universities; compulsory daily attendance at worships was a religious requirement.²

The arrangements were made for temporary facilities for the college and Mr. Herr Charles Thiele, an educated German who had migrated to Bermuda, was employed as assistant.³ The plans for

¹Dowding, Africa, p. 26-27.

²Royal Gazette, 23 November, 14 December 1852.

³Dowding, Partisanship, p. 118.

opening the school seemed to be progressing without any further major opposition.

Reaction to the Plan

As the opening date drew near and it seemed inevitable that the plans would materialize, the opponents of the project resumed their attack by a fresh outburst of protest which appeared through the press. The white upper class had rallied under the banner of two influential members of the white community--Edward B. Seon, an assemblyman from Bailey's Bay, Hamilton Parish, and Brownlow Gray, the Inspector of Schools, using the press as a medium to publicize their resistance to the plan. Seon's letter published in the Bermuda Herald revealed some areas of concern. He and his supporters were concerned that "the social interests of this little colony ought not to be disturbed. . . . A mixture of races will not suit us." Seon questioned the judgment and wisdom of the Archbishop of Canterbury for supporting a project that would "level distinctions" and [precipitate] "the ruin of our society . . . [so that] there will be anarchy and complete disruption of all order, in fact civility will not be known amongst us."¹

Dowding Responds

Dowding made his rebuttal on Christmas Day. It appeared in the same issue of the Bermuda Herald as Seon's letter. He responded: "You tell me that the social interests of this Colony are better known to the residents of the upper class than to myself, or to the Archbishop

¹E. B. Seon to Rev. Mr. Dowding, 20 December 1852, cited in Bermuda Herald, 27 January 1853.

of Canterbury?" Dowding wanted to know on what premise Seon based his conclusions. Dowding asked:

When you impugn the wisdom of one of the best men living, and set at naught the judgment of almost numberless other persons--the six or seven thousand who think with us in Bermuda, the highest ranking officials and dignitaries in Bermuda as well as those of similar rank in England and, finally, His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, you must pardon me if I become inquisitive as to the 'upper class' you mention, and ask for the 'us' whom education does not suit.

Dowding refuted the charge of leveling distinctions on two basic premises. First, he stated that the form of education and the educational environment he advocated were practices that were steadily gaining ground with more progressive minds. This was indicated by the composition of the group of his supporters, and from the remarks of the Bishop of Newfoundland during a discussion of the college, that

Dispassionate persons familiar to the situation will I think concur, that the single mode of upholding and carrying onward the work of civilization must be sought for in the vigorous promotion of the moral and intelligent culture of the masses of the people, and in the systematic reinforcement of the liberally educated, without attention to the shade of their complexion.²

If the trend was to disregard color as a basis for admission into the institution, why not have one facility that would provide quality education for all, Dowding reasoned.

In making his second point, Dowding alluded to the more than marginal gains that the Negroes--especially those in the West Indies--had made in a relatively short period of time. There was developing an elite class of merchants, barristers, clergymen, magistrates, and

¹Ibid.

²Charles Elliott to Edward Field, 2 May 1851, in Dowding, Revival, p. 6.

members of Assembly and of Council who were a threat to the status quo. As Dowding reminded Seon, political power was rapidly passing from the hands of the white people in the West Indies to the blacks, and the security and progress of the nation lay in the abolition of caste and the creation of a healthy society "free from irritating the obstructive prejudices of race."¹ "Limiting the opportunities for self-improvement and clinging to a set of 'superannuated prejudices' which the voice of the whole British empire has pronounced unworthy would secure neither civility nor respect."² He suggested that Seon prove his wisdom by "discerning the time; nailing up the clock would not stay the progress of time."³

Public Opinion

Such frank, verbal exchanges could hardly escape the public eye. A local resident, using the pseudonym "Pro Bono Publico" described the conflict in a humorously sarcastic letter. He asked, "Did you ever in your life hear such a hubub and to do as they are kicking up just now in our other-wise quiet little country about larning [sic]?" He gave a graphic description in these words:

Parsons squabbling, meetings in all our parishes (save and except goodly Hamilton and Smiths) to hear larned 'Talks,' innumerable publications springing out of an Academy; and

¹William C. Dowding to Edward B. Seon, 25 December 1852, cited in Bermuda Herald, 29 January 1852.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

last, but not least and which has given rise to all this 'much ado about nothing,' the revival of Bishop Berkeley's (as a recent writer styles it) 'Fusion-of-races College!'¹

Pro Bono Publico too seemed somewhat concerned about the future if learning were to take the lead of everything. He feared that scholars would despise agricultural pursuits and other menial duties and the colony would be left in a precarious economic state.²

The press articles were hard hitting, but Dowding and his supporters could still depend on support. A group of resident supporters had circulated a petition supporting the plan which they later sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The signatories pledged their support of the project to revive St. Paul's College and hoped that he would continue to favor it and that "much good will result from it, not only in the spread of a sound intelligence, but in the removal of irritating and obstructive distinctions."³

The School Opens

The opening date for the school arrived--January 3. The students came and the preliminary activities were taken care of: registration, financial arrangements in the morning, and Divine Worship in the afternoon at 3:00 p.m. Approximately thirty Negro boys and at least two white boys attended classes on the scheduled date for the opening of classes--January 10.⁴ It was an auspicious occasion, but

¹Pro Bono Publico to the Editor of the Bermuda Herald, cited in Bermuda Herald, 24 January 1853.

²Ibid.

³The Residents of Bermuda to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, cited in Royal Gazette, 31 December 1852.

⁴Dowding, Religious Partisanship, p. 161.

the proceedings were unpretentious. The events of that historic day assumed a relatively low profile. The records of the London Committee which supervised the affairs of the school indicated there were approximately twenty-four day students and all but two or three of these were Negroes. There were five or six young men in the adult classes. Faculty and students settled down to the usual activities of school life and to seeking to make the best of the unique opportunity in which they had the privilege of playing an active role. The curriculum followed the classic model. It included Classics, Mathematics, Modern Languages, Moral Science, Music, and Theology.¹

The first major step had been taken. An educational institution for intellectual advancement had been established. The design to improve the educational opportunities at a higher level had been set in motion. The opposers of the plan made another blistering attack.

Gray Attacks

The Inspector of Schools, Brownlow Gray, was the spokesman. He launched his attack in a lengthy letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.² He indicated that though he was appreciative of the intent and high purpose of the project, he had great reservations concerning it. Gray presented his argument in strong, forceful language that was often sarcastic, often bold effrontery. He recognized the need for more adequate provisions for Negro education; actually he was concerned and ready to act; however, he could not endorse a plan which the "Unanimous voice of the higher class of natives and permanent

¹Royal Gazette, 14 November, 23 December 1853.

²Gray, Revival, pp. 3-5.

residents of this colony, has condemned . . . as a wild and dangerous one . . . Not even the false glitter of great names could dampen his antagonism [and that of his supporters] for the 'ill-digested schemes of half-informed enthusiasts.'¹ Further, he stated:

We, distant people of Bermuda cannot condone the actions of men who propose to themselves the breaking up of long-continued and unwholesome prejudices and the generation of a healthier tone of feeling² between the white and colored populations of the West Indies.

Gray was interested not only in maintaining the status quo; he also questioned the utility of higher educational opportunities for Negroes. The primary educational objective, in his view, was not to fill a man's head with knowledge of the arts and sciences (necessary as that may be), but to prepare him for the state in life which he is designed to fill. That was the form the education of the Negroes as well as whites should take. Gray perceived the need for higher education among Negroes to be minimal, since most of them would be relegated to mundane and menial tasks in the community as their parents before them had been. Gray closed his letter by stating that he recognized the career risks involved in his taking such a vehement stand; however, "the position I have occupied I am prepared to defend, until by much sounder and more sober reasoning than any I have yet heard, I shall be compelled to abandon my post."³

The School Closes

Gray's letter was publicized; its contents tended to polarize

¹Ibid., pp. 1, 8.

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Ibid., pp. 17, 29.

the two conflicting viewpoints concerning the college even more acutely. This polarization of the community had an adverse effect on the successful operation of the school, since it divided loyalties into two extreme camps with little hope of reconciliation and minimized any hopes for cooperative work for the success of the venture. But there were other causes that created hardships for the school and undermined its credibility. The financial picture steadily became gloomier as the local and foreign supporters realized the futility of endeavoring to maintain the school in such a hostile environment. Dowding had approached the Trustees of the Devonshire College Funds requesting the appropriation of the funds and physical plant of the Devonshire College to St. Paul's College. The Trustees of the Fund denied the request.¹ Declining enrollments further exacerbated the financial situation. Yet Dowding sought desperately to keep the school alive. Though he managed to maintain a delicate balance of public sentiment and support, it was not enough to keep the school in operation. In a last bid to save the school, Dowding left Thiele in charge of the school and went to England to rally support for the plan. The Committee in England recognized the relative impossibility of maintaining an educational program at such an excessive cost and under such adverse circumstances. They were aware, too, that the dream of upgrading the school to the status of a degree-conferring university

¹"Proceedings of the Trustees of Devonshire, Pembroke, and Warwick School," manuscript, Bermuda Archives, pp. 129-134.

was nearly hopeless; they reluctantly recommended the school's closure after only three years of operation.¹

Dowding was disappointed. The hopes for the future of the Negroes and of the colony which he wanted to accomplish through higher education had faded. Yet he could feel a sense of achievement for there were some satisfying results. The positive response of the Negroes was reassuring, he wrote. These youth who had their first taste of higher education would become the mainstay of an emerging educated Negro elite. Dowding also commented that he had the satisfaction of knowing that some of the students matriculated and that others were qualified to make a valuable contribution to society.

Such were the varying scenes and the issues in the drama of the efforts to establish St. Paul's College. The process was not static nor passive, rather it was characterized by notable changes in the processing of social and political thought.

Issues

The previous discussion of the various factors involved in the establishment of an institution of higher learning in Bermuda during the nineteenth century implied that a number of issues connected with the development surfaced. This section of the chapter summarizes the major issues.

The most serious issue had racial overtones. By the mid-century there was a dramatic upturn in the status of the Negro caused by their emancipation in 1834. The Negro population subsequently

¹Dowding, Religious Partisanship, p. 187; Royal Gazette, 5. 12. 19 August, 2 September 1856.

sought equal (even if separate) educational opportunities. They accomplished much by their own initiative, but there were many liberal whites who recognized the inadequacy of the educational facilities provided and who endeavored to include Negroes in the mainstream of educational opportunities. It is worthy of mention that a related issue was that of the right of women to higher education. This issue is not discussed since the development of the extension of such privileges to women is outside the scope of this study.

The acute tension which characterized white-black relationships represented a compounding of the impact of the social Negro revolution, even though in Bermuda it was mildly manifested in this century. For within the framework of the general increase in population, there occurred an even more dramatic increase among the Negroes. These developments exacerbated the problem of inter-group relations and combined to produce the tension that was so evident in the struggle.

Underlying the factors which accounted for the crisis was "white racism"--typified by persistent prejudice and discriminatory practices. It may be defined as a negative and extreme form of ethnocentrism, the product of a relatively small and isolated community. The persistence of these racist attitudes and behavior, of open verbal hostility to the project, compounded the issue and offered little hope of any resolution. This continual tension and conflict resulted in the failure of the project.

Other side issues were less explosive. They included (1) the right of individuals to be selective in the type and intensity of support they give to groups in the society; (2) the rights of the parents of the students to choose the educational institution and environment

their children should attend; and (3) the willingness of groups to resort to verbal force to resolve differences or to achieve their aims.

These issues could not be easily resolved, yet a great deal could have been accomplished if the white racists realized that their traditional and anachronistic practices, if modified, could have resulted in the transformation of society into a more unified one. The remedy was in bridging the gaping gap between the whites and Negroes--a task for which even to today there is no easy solution. The racial conflict burst with greater intensity and fury during the next century and largely contributed to the social and political turmoil that gave new direction and new meaning to the Bermuda society.

Summary

This chapter has presented a discussion of the various economic social, religious, and philosophical aspects of nineteenth-century Bermuda. It has depicted noticeable changes in support of the efforts to provide equal educational opportunities to all youth. It specifically traced Dowding's commitment toward seeking to eliminate segregation and to seek to provide funds to design a program in response to the educational problems of youth of different ethnic and racial origin.

The implications are that while racial isolation would continue, strong and positive action would be taken to end this trend. Indeed, Dowding's project had many beneficial effects. It fostered the growth of an aggressive campaign for extending the privileges of higher education to Negroes. It nurtured courage, initiative, and determination among Negroes. These qualities provide many opportunities for self-actualization and societal renewal.

CHAPTER V

IMPACT OF CHANGE ON THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS

During the first two decades of the twentieth century changes were taking place in the environment, racial composition, mental processes, and moral climate of Bermuda which played a considerable part in the modernization of Bermuda. As their sphere of social contact and communication was extended, Bermudians were exposed to a wider world and different cultures. The positive influences of these new and changing world concepts were reflected in the dawn of a new era in Bermuda, which was particularly visible in the social, cultural, and commercial activities of the period. These changes continued on their course with such intensity that by the time the century had reached mid-course, Bermuda had entered upon the most revolutionary era it had ever known.¹

The new era was characterized by an immense expansion of knowledge and experience, a shrinking world perspective, rapid advances in travel and communication, and by the control and exploitation of resources. But by far the greatest changes resulted from transformed personal and social expectation.

The changes occurring during this period were in most respects

¹Bermuda, Parliament, Debates of the House of Assembly, 1902 (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1902), pp. 236-240 (hereafter cited as House Debates); House Debates, 1950, pp. 27-30; M of H, 15 March 1951.

more rapid in a single year than in a whole pre-industrial century and affected every aspect of national life. It must, therefore, be recognized that within this turmoil of personal and social expectancy and transformation, the traditional concept of the educational experience was also changing rapidly and constantly.¹

It is particularly relevant to this study of the educational experience in higher education in Bermuda to view the events of this century with a completely altered orientation; to examine recent or current educational reforms within the context of a shrinking world perspective and profound technological and intellectual advance.

This chapter, then, is designed to give a brief survey of the educational activities during the first half of the twentieth century. It also provides some insights into some burning issues that had to be resolved. It shows how society dealt with these issues and how these developments paved the way for and, indeed, led almost inevitably to the birth of the modern era of education.

Education during the Early Twentieth Century: 1900--1963

The status of education in Bermuda in the first decade of the century was far from ideal. The governor in his address to the House of Assembly deplored the fact that educational goals were minimal; resources were few and inadequate; those schools that existed were largely supported by private resources supplemented by small subsidies from the Department of Education, and they were generally available only to the upper class. The upper class provided its own education

¹ Annual Report, 1901-1950; M of H, 11 September 1902, 12, 18 June 1904; also Minutes to 1950.

and since the working class was unable to create its own schools, "elementary" schools that were created for their youth were largely "charity" schools, providing minimal education at an elementary level. This system of education owed very little to the government and was only loosely coordinated by it.¹

During the second decade attempts were made to induce the government to define its position regarding the educational enterprise. Most of the pressure came from those individuals with perceptive minds who were coming to view higher education as an economic necessity. They were recognizing that only by ensuring a literate work force could Bermuda meet the increasing demands of the budding tourist industry and of other business and commercial enterprises. Though they did not experience a great measure of success initially, the pressure they exerted helped to make more explicit the need for greater government involvement in the education of its youth to prepare them for efficient service in a changing environment.²

Though Bermuda was still largely an agrarian country, there was an increasing number of prosperous businessmen who paid large sums in government revenue. These businessmen were self-made men and were not short of money, but they had neither the interest nor the desire to allocate public or private funds to educational purposes. They could have invested more money in education since the almost completely "laissez-faire" system that existed fostered prosperity; yet compared to the marked growth in the economic field the educational

¹House Debates, 19 September 1902, sess. 2, pp. 372-373; 1904-1905, sess. 1, pp. 72-74; Schools Act, 1902, 1904.

²Board of Education "Resolves"; Schools Act, 1912, 1914.

counterpart remained in a very simple and underdeveloped state.¹

Despite the increasing complexity of the economy, the smoothness of its operation did not yet depend on the educational system for a supply of formally educated personnel, whether at the administrative, managerial, or operative levels. Almost every job, except for the traditional professions--religion, medicine, and law--could be learned by doing. The average industrial unit was still not large enough to make management a difficult task. Many businesses were still under family ownership and no really strong and continuing political opposition rose to dispute such nepotism. Ambitious and able men who were illiterate could rise from the lowest job to the position of foreman and even to that of manager. A minimal knowledge of the three R's was usually all the educational requirements necessary for the vast majority of jobs.²

Issues

1. Education should be a matter of greater public involvement and concern. Up to this time, education, especially higher education, was not a priority item; but with the increasing sophistication of Bermuda life-style, the concepts of education for the elite and education as a private enterprise were being eroded. Many concerned individuals were getting a wider concept of the value and purpose of education. They valued the concept of the "self-made" man, however, there was the growing belief that (1) the present educational provisions were inadequate; and (2) there was need for greater government involvement

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

in the education of its people. They pressed this new challenge to government until the matter became an important social issue. The legislators made strong arguments against the provision of education by the state. They re-asserted the right of the individual to pursue his goal in all matters including education and without government involvement. The opposing arguments emphasized that since education was the basis of good government and of social progress, state intervention might be necessary if private enterprise failed to provide adequate educational provisions for the good of the state. It was a protracted and difficult task to convince private enterprise of the need to provide higher education at public expense; however, those who advocated public education succeeded in obtaining measures in their favor.

2. The financing and the nature of public education must be decided. Once the question was resolved and it was decided that state intervention would occur, two important questions had to be answered: (1) Who would supply the resources that would provide more adequate education? (2) What would be taught, to whom, and at what level? Both questions had important social and political implications since each social class had a different view of what its own education should be and each endeavored to pursue its own educational goals.¹ Education had not as yet come to be regarded as an independent discipline. There was no recognized tradition of education; there was no established theory, and no one considered education as a subject

¹ Annual Report, 1908, p. 9; see also Reports for 1903-1930; House Debates 1904, 70-84; 1915:27-27.

for philosophical inquiry in its own right. Yet education was available. The middle and upper classes generally received their education in a grammar school, academy, or in a private school, but the relevance of the curriculum for a future career was not always obvious. The academic content was classical and character building was stressed. The more practical subjects being introduced into the curriculum in more progressive countries--subjects having greater social and economic relevance--were not seen as central to the curriculum.¹

The middle class defined education for the working class as a necessary service in minimal form. The curriculum was designed only to ensure minimal literacy for the lower classes of the white social strata. Provisions for the black population left much to be desired.²

Efforts to Resolve the Issues

Though the changes were hardly observable during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the socio-economic and political changes which were being experienced in England were creating a change of attitude towards the traditional concepts of education. This changing attitude also affected the educational provisions in Bermuda. An Education Commission was appointed in 1903 to inquire into the working of the Schools Acts of 1879, the condition and accommodation of the school houses, the remuneration of the teachers, and other matters connected with the education of the youth of the colony. The Commission report indicated the consensus that an Aided School System was best for the colony. It also recommended an increase in government

¹ Annual Report, 1908, p. 12; House Debates, 20 (1908):308-309.

² Annual Report, 1902, pp. 10-11; 1903, pp. 7-8.

grants, in teachers' salaries, the division of schools into high-fee and low-fee schools, and that provisions be made for providing school premises and playgrounds. The suggestions were embodied in a Bill but none of them received legislative sanction.¹ Inquiries into the educational status were also made at the imperial level. The Imperial Education Conference which was held in London in 1911 to deal with certain aspects of particular importance to the educational systems of the various British colonies had a greater measure of success.² The reports of the Conference papers had a great influence on the direction of education in Bermuda. They included:

1. A directive that annual reports on education be sent to the Board of Education in England for more effective monitoring of the educational activities and for making them available to the public.

2. A suggestion for undertaking a study to determine the feasibility of enacting legislation that would provide educational opportunities for advanced training, at least to the secondary level, for a larger segment of the population.

3. The formulation of a program that would ensure greater efficiency in the structure and composition of the schools through greater government involvement.

The Act seemed to signal the move from a system administered predominantly by the private sector to one strongly influenced by the public. In response the Board of Education redefined its policies and

¹Bermuda, Board of Education, Education Commission Report, (Bermuda: Bermuda Legislature), 1903, pp. 24-28.

²Great Britain, Office of Special Inquiries and Reports, Imperial Education Conference Papers III, "Bermuda" (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1913), pp. 10-14 (hereafter cited as Imperial Papers).

laid the foundation for a strong, effective, and efficient department.

The government now began to assume greater responsibility for education of its citizens. The report of the Director of Education gave the details of the plan for the reorganization of the educational system. It included provisions for improved educational provisions for blacks. A compulsory school age was set, and a system of schools was designed that would include what today would be called secondary education. It was recommended that in time a tertiary (post-secondary) level should be developed.¹

The efforts that the Board of Education made to eliminate many educational deficiencies resulted in a steady increase in the rate of literacy. After 1911, there was a renewed interest in developing a sound educational program for both races but in segregated environments. The statistics for the years 1901 to 1960 showed a marked increase in the allocation of government funds for education, while the years 1945 and 1950 marked two of the most productive years of legislative activity in the field of education (see appendix C).²

Social and Political Issues

Boycotts and Universal Suffrage

Just as education cannot be divorced from social considerations, it is also largely influenced by political conditions. From its inception in 1879, the general Board of Education had sought to improve the educational system by persuading the government to provide larger

¹ Annual Report, 1912, pp. 9-11.

² Bermuda, Legislature, "The Schools Act of 1912," 1912 No. 10, in Public Acts II p. 4 sec. 1; Imperial Papers, pp. 7, 10-11. See also Annual Reports for 1912-1950.

legislative grants, by instituting compulsory education, and supervising instruction. However, in practice, if not in policy, the white schools were the beneficiaries of most of these educational benefits. There was a noticeable lack of urgency in formulating government policies as they pertained to education for blacks. This practice persisted with little variation until the late 1950s when a group of educated and influential black liberals initiated a quiet but steady movement to influence social educational political change. It accelerated slowly at first--until the 1950s--but soon gained extreme momentum. Signs of this rapid acceleration were first visible about 1959 with a series of successful demonstrations against segregation in theatres. This boycott was so successful that the theatres were desegregated on July 2, 1959. The boycott also paid an unexpected dividend. Major hotels and most restaurants also desegregated their public rooms.¹

The boycotts were in reality protests against the many social and discriminatory practices that were so obviously present. They represented the intellectual and emotional anguish of a group that perceived themselves (and in reality, they were) doomed. They were enmeshed in a system that had constantly set up commissions to ascertain the nature and intensity of social issues, had processed large quantities of testimony, expended huge sums on same, but had not acted to bring about positive social change.

In the same year the government, under mounting pressure, named a committee to consider it and how the franchise should be extended. The report that the committee submitted was a compromise

¹Bermuda, Legislature, "The Restaurant Act," 1961, no. 20; in Private Acts, 1961, p. 75; Royal Gazette, 29, 30 June 1959.

in favor of the white minority. This was a disappointment; many people believed there should have been a greater widening of the franchise. Again, the Black expression forced the formation of the Committee for Universal Adult Suffrage (CUAS). This committee pursued its goal with courage and determination and submitted its report on June 1961. It included a recommendation by the majority of the Committee members that the franchise be extended to all citizens twenty-five years and older, and that electoral districts be set up to "ensure that the white minority of Bermudians be protected."¹

Party Politics

The new franchise bill became law during the election year 1963. It was a historic occasion since it was the first election in which the principle of universal adult suffrage was implemented. The election year also saw the birth of party politics. The issues of the extension of the franchise and segregation were the primary forces that led to the origin of party politics in Bermuda. The Progressive Labour Party (PLP) was the first to be formed in Bermuda. Its formation aroused apprehension and led to the birth of the United Bermuda Party (UBP) shortly after on August 1964. The new ruling party, the UBP, soon embarked upon measures to prove that it was for a truly united Bermuda. One of its most important functions was to set up a joint select committee of the House and the Legislative Council to consider a new constitution. The new constitution which

¹M of H, 1960-61, p. 282; Henry Richardson, Report of an Appraisal of Bermuda's Economy and Future Prospects (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bank of Bermuda & Bank of N. I. Butterfield & Son, 1963), pp. 5-6 (hereafter cited as Richardson Report).

came into effect in 1968 brought about a cabinet system and other significant political changes in Bermuda.¹

The Origin and Growth of Trade Unions

Though major changes had occurred in the balance of political power since 1963, it was believed that the working class could exert more power through organized activity by forming trade unions.² These organizations would strengthen their many demands including that for a "truly national system of education." They sought to secure the social expansion of schools to ensure that as many of the working class who desired would have the opportunity of higher education. Thus they would be prepared to assume responsible positions in the public and private sectors of the community.

Organized labor passed through several phases of complexity before it won the right to meet organized capital on equal terms.³ The early incentive came primarily from Dr. Edgar Gordon, a dynamic Trinidadian physician. He was appalled at the plight of the working class in Bermuda and made the cause of their improvement his most important field of endeavor in the political arena. Through the Bermuda Worker's Union, formed in 1940, the working class received a greater awareness of their responsibilities, their privileges, and their rights.

¹ Bermuda, Legislature, Report of the Bermuda Constitutional Conference, 1965; Great Britain, Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates (Commons), 8th series, vol. 46 (1967); Great Britain, Parliament, Bermuda Constituting Order, 1968 (S.I. 182/1968); Royal Gazette, 6 July 1963; 11 August 1964.

² MHA, 1966, pp. 478-480.

³ Bermuda, Legislature, The Trade Union Act, Public Law 1965, no. 171, in Public Acts, 1965, p. 203.

It was a modest beginning, but it was the only group which had assumed this difficult task.¹ Though the union organizers struggled so hard and so earnestly and "with good conscience toward the people," their tactics were often misunderstood and misinterpreted by the workers themselves and they failed to rally to the common cause. Yet in 1946, Dr. Gordon started his campaign for constitutional and social change and saw the Legislature pass Bermuda's first Trade Union and Disputes Act. The following year (1947) the Bermuda Industrial Union was formed.²

The violent outbreaks which were a phenomenon of the efforts to organize labor in Europe and America were not generally characteristic of the steady progress of trade unionism in Bermuda. The most serious labor troubles occurred in 1951 when longshoremen staged a near violent strike at the Hamilton docks. Later a violent outbreak erupted during a strike against the Bermuda Electric Light Company in 1965 as a result of Bermuda Industrial Union's struggle to achieve official recognition. There was some turbulence during the next decade as unorganized employees in various businesses, industries, and government departments sought union recognition. Few Bermudians realized then that their country had reached a stage of industrialization which creates labor problems. Nor did they realize that the incidents of 1951 and 1965 were only the first of a long series of battles between capital and labor.

¹Gerald Alexander Brangman, Thank You, Dr. E. F. Gordon (New York: Vantage Press, 1978), pp. 18-19, 56-57; Royal Gazette, 13 January 1965.

²Bermuda Recorder, 28 June, 4, 12, 22 July 1947; Royal Gazette, 15, 18, 20, 24 February 1965.

Efforts to organize a strong and effective labor union passed through a difficult experimental cycle as the contest for the representation of workers developed between labor unions and employer-controlled unionism. Employers sought to escape from the labor union through employee cooperation and handsome incentives. However, the BIU, which was organized in 1947, became more powerful with each successful challenge to capital. As champion of the worker, the BIU grew and multiplied so that by 1971 it had attained a membership of over 4,000--as compared with a membership of 76 in 1961, the year of its organization. With such solid support the BIU could make its demands. One historic event in its history occurred in 1969 when capital met labor on equal terms. This event was the signing of labor agreements with two groups of employers with the largest number of employees in the Colony's private sector, and with the eight largest hotels and the ten largest construction firms. The membership significantly increased from 609 in 1965 to 6050 in 1980.¹ It is noteworthy that the BIU has accomplished much in raising the economic status of the worker through organized labor.

Social and Economic Developments

U.S. Bases

Events of military and economic significance also played an important role in the transformation of the Bermuda society. The necessity of forming a protective base in the Atlantic prompted the United States to establish bases in several Caribbean islands and in

¹Bermuda Industrial Union, Research Department, "Report," 1982.

Bermuda. The negotiations between the Prime Minister of England, Winston Churchill, and the President of the United States, Franklin Roosevelt, effected a 1941 U.S.-U.K. destroyer-base agreement whereby the U.S.A. could acquire a ninety-nine year lease for land to build a base. Soon a U.S. survey team arrived in Bermuda and a site was chosen. Troops poured into Bermuda and construction was carried on with great speed; hills and shorelines disappeared, houses and trees were destroyed; sand poured ashore from huge dredges. It was a phenomenal environmental change never witnessed before.¹ As Zuill stated: "Bermuda was quickly being transformed. It was no longer a land of two municipalities, a few villages, and countryside between; it became a land of two municipalities with suburbs covering the rest of the island, aside from a few green areas."²

These U.S. wartime measures also stimulated the Bermuda economy phenomenally and a record-breaking period of prosperity ensued. A steady influx of United States service men and their families and of immigrants seeking better job opportunities resulted in a sharp population increase. The population rose significantly from 30,814 in 1939 to over 37,403 in 1950.³ The profound change in the composition of the Bermuda population affected the former life style and created a greater need to monitor physical and social adjustments

¹ Delores Block, Kindley Air Force Base, Bermuda: The First Twenty-Five Years (Kindley Air Force Base, Bermuda: Information Division, Military Airlift Command, U.S. Air Force, 1969), pp. 1-2, 4-18.

² W. S. Zuill, The Story of Bermuda and Her People (London: Macmillan, 1973) p. 179.

³ Bermuda, Statistical Office, Report of the Population Census, 1950 (Bermuda: Department of Finance, 1950), pp. 3-4 (hereafter cited as Census Report).

keenly if Bermuda were to successfully maintain its homogeneity and its traditional British culture. The great increase in population also created acute housing and social concerns.¹

The overall effect of this almost unrestricted immigration was positive, but some visible adverse effects on Bermudian social life were evident. Ideals were modified and Bermudians were ushered into a new materialistic era. With material prosperity came both the negative and positive influences of affluence. Bermudians deserted the land and agricultural pursuits were exchanged for the more prestigious blue and white collar jobs in hotels, for high-paying construction jobs and service needs. The difficulty in obtaining an agricultural force created the need to import farm labor. The government turned to the Azores for a supply of laborers. Gradually the population of Bermuda included a large minority of citizens of Portuguese descent. The population of the colony was becoming more heterogenous and the white population made every conceivable effort to preserve racial and ethnic distinctions.²

The increase of immigrants initiated a need for transportation that led to the passage of the Motor Act in 1940.³ Until then, Bermuda was largely rural, and the major methods of transportation were the bicycle and the horse and carriage. The availability of

¹Bermuda, Bermuda Government, Bermuda Report for the Year 1950 (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1950), pp. 4-5.

²John Plowman, Report of the Commission on Training and Employment in Bermuda (Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1963), pp. 10-17, 20, 22 (hereafter cited as the Plowman Report).

³Bermuda, Legislature. "The Motor Car Act, 1940," 1940: No. 36 in Public Acts vol. II, 4 sec. 1.

faster and more modern methods of transportation enabled even those of modest means to seek the commodities which allowed them to come and go at will. The traditional methods of transportation and communication became obviously archaic. In swift succession came the train, bus, moped, scooter, and other means of transportation which are so much a part of the traffic scene today. Travel to Bermuda also improved. Air service was heralded in 1948 with the arrival of the big Boeing 314 at Kindley Air Force Base. It soon extended its route across the Atlantic to various European western terminals. Aeroplanes at Kindley Air Force base became a feature of Bermuda's life-style. Air travel soon superseded ships as a means of travel to Bermuda. These new features were added incentives in the expansion of the tourist industry.¹

The Tourist Industry

One area which demanded immediate and special attention was the tourist industry. The phenomenal growth was becoming an area of grave concern, for while it enhanced the economic health of Bermuda, the demand for land on which to build new hotels to accommodate the ever-increasing number of tourists increased and valuable arable land, buildings, and trees of historic interest were being destroyed. Familiar landscapes and landmarks, so much a part of Bermuda's early history were disappearing or were being transformed almost beyond recognition.² Government was faced with a difficult problem: Should measures

¹Royal Gazette, 17, 18 July 1948; 6, 7 May 1956.

²Bermuda, Bermuda Government, Bermuda Report, 1961 (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1961), pp. 2-4; Bermuda Recorder, 20 February 1943, p. 2; 24 March 1943, p. 1.

be adopted to control and limit the expansion of the tourist industry? What would be the effect of such measures on the tourist industry? Government was very aware of the increasing dependence of Bermuda's economy on tourism and recognized that every effort must be made to secure its expansion. How to achieve a viable solution to these two conflicting issues was not easy. The politicians devoted considerable time and effort to finding satisfactory solutions to the problem; over-expansion of the tourist industry and the conservation of Bermuda's natural beauty. These features of the Bermuda landscape were an added attraction to tourists. The issues were dichotomous. The interest in conservation became a natural feature. Interested individuals designed projects for conservation and for "keeping Bermuda beautiful." The Bermuda Historical Society and the Bermuda National Trust became particularly active in this project.

The politicians succeeded in creating a practical balance between the two issues, and the tourist industry continued to show steady expansion and that this trend was predicted to continue until 1980 and for the next twenty or thirty years. The number of visitors for the year 1960 was calculated at 42,640.¹ The tourist industry had accounted directly or indirectly for appreciably more than 45 percent of the total economy of the islands.²

¹Bermuda, Statistical Office, Bermuda Digest of Statistics, No. 1 (Hamilton, Bermuda: Department of Finance, 1973), p. 55.

²Ibid., p. 56.

Educational Implications

The cumulative effect of these undreamed of pressures and the economic developments were accompanied by, if they did not actually produce a sharp rise in, economic growth that affected the whole pattern of institutions and had far-reaching implications for education at all levels. The period of unsurpassed industrial, social, and political change was further heightened by the rapid technological progress which was fast becoming the phenomenon of the age. The current business policies, competencies, and skills were quickly obsoleted. The Plowman Report confirmed the fact that the new economic order demanded a labor force with commensurate skills, and that the educational provisions were inadequate for the present needs.¹ It soon became the trend to import top professional and managerial personnel. This practice degenerated into an indiscriminate importation of personnel for even those jobs that required little or no skilled labor. Bermudians, particularly the blacks, deplored the situation; they became restive and sought or demanded a higher curricular content than that available in the local institutions of learning in order to prepare for the more prestigious jobs. As the need for the availability of higher learning locally became increasingly obvious, Bermudians began a long process of examining the aims and objectives behind their educational policies and practices to attack the obvious educational deficiencies that existed and to seek to provide facilities for educating more people at all levels. The Richardson Report recognized that the practical implementation of solutions which were undertaken during the 1960s presented

¹Plowman Report, pp. 12-16.

real difficulties for those leaders who were entrusted with the responsibility of making realistic social and educational change. The implementations of the recommendations of the Richardson and Plowman reports was a fortuitous task.¹ However, the Legislature and the Department of Education accepted the challenge and made notable changes in every aspect of the educational enterprise.

Issue: School Reform

There can be no denying that the educational enterprise was in a state of flux during the first half of the twentieth century. This chapter has given a brief survey of the educational activities of the first half of the twentieth century. It has shown that the conceptual basis for education during most of this period was founded on the premise that the educational endeavor was primarily a private concern that needed little government supervision and finance. The unintended consequence of this narrow educational focus was the tendency to neglect to explore viable alternatives in meeting social and educational needs.

But a new breed of progressive leaders was emerging by the mid-century and their modern ethical standards hardened by ruthless competition were becoming more secularistic. The new enlightened man was anxious to secure for himself many of the status symbols of the elite and to create opportunities for other members of his group to do the same. The advances in the social, political, and economic spheres of activity facilitated the growth of these revolutionary

¹ Plowman Report, pp. 5-10; Richardson Report, p. 5.

tendencies and paved the way for the enlightened recognition that popular education was a powerful instrument for achieving economic and political success. School reformers generally shared the views of the enlightened man; but the struggle to achieve their goals was futile, for the majority of the elite class had not widened their narrow sectarian biases and still clung slavishly to their views of education for the elite.¹

It was not until societal pressure and the constant and often turbulent activities of blacks to obtain equal educational and political opportunities made an impact that the community began to recognize the nature and magnitude of the changes that characterized the era. For while many were still immersed in the customs, practices and prejudices of the past, life was changing and bringing flux, turmoil, and tension in almost every phase of human endeavor. Universal suffrage and active trade unions enhanced by prolific economic growth began to emerge. These significant developments led to the growing awareness of the need for more harmonious relationships between the races and marked the beginning of a search for a new educational design which would bring equal benefits to all Bermudians and give Bermuda a new dimension of growth.²

This awareness of the need for more harmonious relationships was not without its many tensions and ideological conflicts. It pressured society into facing many of the ideological and ethical questions

¹Royal Gazette, 23 January, 3 April, 18 May 1965.

²Idem, 27 March 1965, p. 5; Richardson Report, pp. 4-8.

concerning public education; to restructure the political and constitutional design.

Summary

This chapter has examined several factors and issues in the developmental and changing patterns of the first half of this century. It has shown how the concept of education as a minimal requirement gradually changed to that in which education was being perceived as an experience that should be provided by the state. The state assumed the responsibility, yet many individuals persisted in pressuring government to become more actively involved in the education of its citizens. These individuals for educational reform demanded a more liberal form of government-supported education. The traditionalists sought to maintain a conventional form of higher education and, to perpetuate the current political and racial policies.

The objectives sought by the two groups were often irreconcilable and in the end the solution lay in seeking compromise measures that would be in the best interest of the society. But changes were occurring that would move Bermuda toward an economic order characterized by the great change from goods producing to rendering service. The new society would demand a quality of service that necessitated a redesigning of the educational enterprise.

CHAPTER VI

REDESIGNING THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The post-war surge of economic and political activity were important factors in influencing educational direction and change. Many of the changes that occurred in elementary, secondary, and post-secondary education in Bermuda took place in the face of mounting opposition by those who zealously guarded the traditional concepts.

The government seemed to lack the resourcefulness and conviction that was needed to implement such revolutionary change. It was only after a prolonged struggle that the Department of Education succeeded in establishing the right of elementary students to public education (1957) and of secondary students in 1964. The stiff opposition the government encountered by private secondary schools made coordination of its program for the improvement of educational endeavors at the post-secondary and tertiary levels extremely difficult. It also made it difficult for the Department of Education to implement its program of making radical changes in the racial practices difficult.

This chapter discusses the vertical extension of public support and control from the elementary schools to the secondary and tertiary levels. It also presents the major issues in education: integration, tertiary education, teacher training, and the related issue of Bermudianization. It shows how the establishment of more liberal

political, ideological, and educational policies brought in a new age of educational practice.

Extending Educational Opportunities

The social revolution which was evident in many countries was also visible in Bermuda. It was a period when among other demands for social change, blacks intensified their agitation for a more liberal form of education and for equal educational opportunities. They urged their claims despite the belief of a small resistant pocket of staunch traditionalists of the upper class whites. As the report of the Education Commission observed, the traditionalists believed that much progress had been made in the expansion of school programs and in the quality of education received by black Bermudians. They stoutly opposed the demands for a more liberal form of education. The emergence of a small but educated black elite--mainly lawyers, doctors, educators, and other college or university graduates--was a constant source of irritation to these traditionalists who did not hide their contempt for these black elites. The traditionalists were unsympathetic to their demands, "their unjustifiable self-importance," and their arrogance.¹

The reaction to the demands for modern and liberal education also varied from one ethnic group to another and from well-educated individuals to those not interested in education at all. Many embraced the challenge of the new concepts of education, and government initiated some educational reforms including improved school buildings, setting curricular and school attendance policies, and increased government

¹Bermuda, Bermuda Legislature, Report of a Commission on Education (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1936), pp. 15-18; Royal Gazette, 26 October 1936.

educational grants.¹ However, there were those of the black "elite" who felt that the reforms had not gone far enough. They persisted in their demands for better educational opportunities at all levels. Among the most insistent demands was that of the reviewing of the policies of the secondary curriculum available to blacks. Blacks never seemed to forget that as early as 1902, by curricular design, blacks were virtually excluded from the opportunity to compete for the Rhodes Scholarship. This was a prestigious scholarship made available through the bequest of Cecil Rhodes, a scholar and Oxford graduate who had achieved great academic and political fame. He conceived the idea of achieving universal peace and of widening the sphere of British influence by providing educational opportunities for representative young men from the British Empire, Germany, and the United States to study at Oxford University. Two three-year scholarships (but only one filled in any given year) were awarded to each state comprising the United States, and an annual scholarship was awarded to each Canadian province, each Australian state, to New Zealand, Newfoundland, Natal, Jamaica, and Bermuda. The scholarships became available after his death in 1902.²

No discriminatory clauses were included in the will, however, the provisions for higher education and for quality education for blacks that could place a student in a favorable position to compete for the

¹ Annual Report, 1903, pp. 6-7.

² Bermuda, Board of Education, Report Relating to the Rhodes Scholarship (Bermuda) (Hamilton, Bermuda: Department of Education, 1902), p. 9; G. R. Parkin, "Rhodes Scholarships." in The New Larned History, 12 vols. (Springfield, Massachusetts: C. A. Nichols, 1894), 3:1734; Who Was Who, 1847-1916 (London: A. & C. Black, 1916), p. 595; Blue Books, 1902-1905.

Rhodes Scholarship were totally inadequate. The blacks believed that this was designed to exclude them from the competition and they persisted in seeking means for eliminating this and other negative effects of the educational provisions. By 1963, the legislators and the educational administrators had made appreciable progress in seeking to remedy some of the educational deficiencies. Victor Scott and other educators and community leaders believed that there was still an urgent need to pursue the issue of public education at the secondary level. They also urged that discriminatory educational practices based on race, color, or creed be discontinued.¹

Issue: Integration in Schools

One of the major demands of the pressure groups of the 1960s was the demand for formulating educational practices that would eliminate discriminatory practices and end racial segregation in all levels of education. Integration became one of the most intense issues in Bermuda by 1963. The social revolution which was so characteristic of U.S. society and other parts had its impact on Bermuda life-style. Blacks had become more vocal and violent in their search for an end to psychological and intellectual oppression. As Richardson stated: Many deep-seated causes for dissatisfaction still remained.² Government had increased directly or indirectly its contribution to training high level talent in many fields, but there was still the persistent shortage

¹ Bermuda Sun, 3 July, 5 August 1963; Royal Gazette, 24 August 1963; Harold Houghton, Report on the Educational System in Bermuda (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1964), pp. 10-14.

² Annual Report, 1963, p. 22; Richardson Report, pp. 30-31.

of talent. In most instances, however, blacks remained without the educational privileges afforded whites. Public opinion was becoming increasingly in favor of the expansion of education to meet the needs of all youth.

Edward Boyle, Britain's Minister for Education, who visited Bermuda in 1964, stated that Government and the educational administrators recognized the need to counteract the subversive effects of violence by preparing its local population to assume key positions.¹ They recognized that social and political turmoil could seriously affect the quality of life that Bermudians enjoyed and adversely affect the economy. Richardson who conducted a research on the future of Bermuda's economy recommended that "with a view to removing grievances and promoting better relations between the colored and white elements of the population, a progressive policy of integration should be used to cover elementary, secondary and vocational training."²

In the following year, 1964, the Plowman Report stated that the members of his Commission had come to the conclusion that it was impossible fully to develop the educational facilities of the Colony unless there was a well-planned integration of the school system at a fairly early date.³ The Committee recognized the disadvantages of the blacks with respect to obtaining level jobs because of low educational standards. They recognized, too, that while there was need for caution in implementing integration immediately, integration could not

¹Edward Boyle, "Education," in Royal Gazette, 17 February 1964.

²Richardson Report, pp. 30-31.

³Plowman Report, p. 48.

be postponed indefinitely. A hasty change, they stated, could well result in the lowering of educational standards. The Committee recommended that "Government should forthwith begin to prepare for an integrated school system commencing in September 1964 with the children entering primary school for the first time . . . Integration entry at age of commencement would then continue each year so that in a maximum of eleven years schools would be integrated at all levels."¹

The report also recommended that the Board of Education, improve the physical facilities and the quality of the teachers preparation so that the educational standards would not be adversely affected. They further recommended that the receipt by any school of a Government grant should be contingent on the school conforming with the policy of integration.

The number of commissions that government and large businesses initiated as a result of these recommendations and the volume of articles from various sectors of the community, together with the activities of the Board of Education all indicated the seriousness with which the community viewed the issue. The recommendations from the reports and the Board of Education and the press all indicated that these individuals were convinced that integration was inevitable.² The reports recommended integration at the earliest possible date. The Houghton Report of 1964 emphasized the harmful effects of segregation on Bermuda's educational system as a whole. The report indicated that according to the findings of the Commission "it is the intention

¹Ibid.

²Annual Report, 1964, p. 4, appendix VI; Houghton Report pp. 8-9.

of the Government of Bermuda, the expressed policy of the Board of Education," and the strong desire of more than half the citizens of Bermuda that the education system of the Islands should be integrated. Houghton suggested that "a start be made with integration . . . in the Sixth Form, where reform is not only urgently needed but is impossible without some form of integration; and where integration is unlikely to stir up any great opposition." He recommended September 1965 as the date for the first phase of integration. He proposed from September 1968 onward that color should cease to be a criterion for admission to any primary school and that admission to any secondary school within the government system should be settled solely on educational criteria and on no other.¹

The reaction to these recommendations on the matter of integration understandably varied from one ethnic group to another, from well-educated individuals to those who were not primarily in education but rather with the social and political aspects of school integration.

The press releases were frequent and the expressions of opinions blunt and candid. Both sides in the issue launched vigorous campaigns through the press and through pressure groups to achieve their goals.²

The white community could no longer ignore the demands of the large segment of the population (blacks represented over 40 percent of the total population of 42,640 in 1960).³ A gradual implementation

¹Ibid., pp. 7-9.

²Bermuda Sun, 16, 23, 30 February 1963; Royal Gazette, 10, 11, 14, 16 February 1963.

³Census Returns, 1960, pp. 2-3.

of the recommendations of the Plowman and Richardson Reports with regards to more effective use of human resources, particularly of blacks, ensued. The program designed to improve the educational achievements of blacks was accelerated. Firms either voluntarily or as a result of legislative action undertook the training of blacks for lower and middle managerial jobs.

The educational program had thus been consciously made an instrument to promote social integration. Education became not a means of achieving individual goals but a political necessity. The government recognized its responsibility to provide education in order to secure its own welfare. The government was also becoming increasingly aware that though the educational system had standardized the educational program the measures had not gone far enough.¹

Reviewing the Education System

The advances made in providing facilities for secondary education and financing it to some extent with public funds were noteworthy. The demands made on these schools increased as the general awareness of the desirability of such an education was brought into focus. However, the implementation of the concept of popular secondary education was not as easy as the superficial inquiry tends to indicate.² As Houghton indicated:

With the general prosperity enjoyed by practically all members of the community and the accompanying feeling, rarely expressed but easily detected beneath the surface, that a

¹Annual Report, 1964, p. 9; Royal Gazette, 18 October, 20 November 1963.

²Houghton Report, pp. 10-11.

good education may be desirable but is far from essential, and though it may in fact be a good thing it is not worth striving hard for. . . . Under the present conditions in Bermuda . . . it is not surprising that many of the youngsters themselves are not disposed to take education too seriously, and that many of their parents are less concerned than they might be with the education of their children.¹

The Joint Select Committee

The Education Department, under mounting pressure, embarked upon a major program for the restructuring and redesigning of the educational system according to the recommendations of the committees. The Government Leader, Sir Henry Tucker, commissioned a review of the entire system. A Joint Select Committee composed of members of both Houses studied the system and submitted their findings with recommendations for sweeping proposals for its reform.

The recommendations of the Joint Select Committee included a gradual expansion of education within a reasonable time which would involve not only a reasonable increase of school facilities for all students of compulsory school age but also gradually improving of the standards of higher education at the top. To ensure this development the Committee recommended substantial changes in the existing system that would make such expansion possible. They recommended expediency in effecting the changes, for each delay lessened the facility of the transfer.

The Committee made the following major recommendations: (1) a redefinition and reclassification of primary and secondary education; (2) classification of the primary schools to be designated as years 1 through 7, with a five-year program at the secondary level; (3) a

¹Ibid., p. 1.

more clearly defined program of studies at the secondary level designed to enhance the performance of the students and provide more adequate pre-university studies (It was also proposed that opportunities for higher education abroad should be increased and that the concept of higher or tertiary education available locally should be given greater emphasis.); and (4) a reinforcement of the concept of the integration of schools--a recommendation made in 1963 by Plowman and Richardson.¹

The provisions of the Joint Select Committee on Education of 1965 included the development of a system of public secondary education. Secondary education was the main beneficiary of the Education Act of 1965. Theoretically there was no reason why a system of secondary education for all should not have emerged on the basis of prior legislation. The reason it did not was that the existing system tended to perpetuate the distinction between the secondary schools attended by different ethnic groups. The number of scholarships for the working class increased. There was still the traditional contrast between the secondary and the elementary school; the former was for the middle class and the latter for the working class. Till 1965 the secondary or grammar schools were either endowed schools that were subsidized or new creations of the modern secondary type. These new secondary schools were co-educational, while the traditional schools were mostly segregated by sex.²

The attempt to introduce a vocational element into new schools

¹ Annual Report, 1964, pp. 3-12; Bermuda, Legislative Council, Report of the Joint Select Committee on Education in Bermuda, (Bermuda: Bermuda Legislature, 1965), pp. 3-8.

² Annual Reports, 1963; Royal Gazette, 22, 29 August 1966.

was not very popular. Many individuals equated vocational training with inferior education and deplored what they perceived was a retrogressive step in the curriculum of the secondary school. The introduction of a more standardized system of the School Certificate examination, however, was more acceptable and came to be an additional and powerful influence on the uniformity of curriculum in the grammar schools. Practical courses as well as art and music were introduced into the curriculum of all secondary schools; extra-curricular activities also became popular. These novel activities gradually extended the schools' control over its students.¹ However, there were insistent demands that the provisions of the Education Act be further implemented.

Effect of the Education Act, 1965 .

One of the insistent demands was the call for immediate implementation of the clause of the Education Act that recommended that all secondary schools aided by grants should be made fully accessible to students of all classes and races. The Education Act of 1965 which raised the school-leaving age to fifteen years--and to sixteen by 1969--went a little further to ensure that more children of the working class might obtain a secondary education.² As more of the working class went to grammar or secondary school, and as they came to realize the practical advantages of a secondary education, they were even willing

¹ Journals of the House, 1965, pp. 107-108.

² Bermuda, Legislature. "The Education Act of 1965," 1965: no. 131: Public Acts, 1965, pp. 271-282.

to stay in school longer than the minimum statutory school-leaving age.¹

The immediate effect of the decision to raise the school-leaving age to sixteen and to provide secondary education at public expense was educational bewilderment and determined opposition. Some traditional grammar or high schools took flight; others, under the leadership of their boards, organized opposition to the Act. However, through compromise measures, most of them agreed to reorganize their educational activities and curriculum to make the most efficient use of the available resources for secondary education in an integrated, co-educational setting. Two of those schools opted to remain private, two others finally agreed to the conditions of the Act.² The ultimate effect of the Act was the placing of the educational state of the country in bold relief in view of the community.

The publication of the Houghton Report, followed by the appointment of the Joint Select Committee of the Legislature to consider the Board of Education's Report and Recommendations, has engendered an intensity of interest never before experienced. The few who have tried so hard for so long to achieve such a review--Board members, education officers, members of the teaching profession, interested groups and individuals in the community--have been heartened by this new interest, even though they have been somewhat surprised at the lack of knowledge and understanding in so many quarters. That there has been a lack of communication between the school system and the public is obvious; its causes are not restricted to either side.³

Public awareness and interest in a system of education for the benefit of all pressured the Department of Education to improve the

¹Royal Gazette, 9 July, 29 August 1964; Annual Report, 1966, pp. 8-10.

²Royal Gazette, 4-5 September 1964, pp. 1, 3; Bermuda Sun., 14, 28 November, 5, 12, 19 December 1964.

³Annual Report, 1964, pp. 14-15.

system. It is appropriate at this point to discuss another issue that surfaced as a result of the increased interest in higher education.

Urgent Need of Higher Education

The Commission of 1925 built into the structure of the system provisions for future official redefinitions of whichever part of the system there was the felt need for reexamination and for implementation of a program. To some extent the assumption was shared that greater efforts would be made to ensure that higher education was made available to a greater percentage of students.¹ But for the next twenty-five years, not much was done to develop a system of higher education. Up to 1949, it was stated "there is no provision for post-secondary education in the colony but several scholarships are tenable at approved institutions abroad. They are offered annually by the Bermuda Government."²

Teacher Training

The possibility of a teacher-training college also seemed remote. The Report of the Director of Education for 1964 stated: "It has not been found feasible to establish a training college for teachers in Bermuda but scholarships are provided to enable prospective teachers to take courses of training abroad."³ Government had taken some measures to remedy this deficiency of teacher training by seeking to provide a local program for upgrading teachers' skills. The Report

¹Idem, 1956, p. 7.

²Idem, 1956, p. 13.

³Idem, 1965, p. 5.

of the Director of Education for the year 1953 stated: "It was gratifying to report that through the kind cooperation of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, arrangements had been made for the first time for university courses to be held in Bermuda during the summer under the auspices of the Board of Education.¹ The Report indicated that though initially the arrangement was restricted to teachers it was hoped that the connection with the university would continue. It was also hoped that the program would be expanded to include any individual who was interested in and had the ability to undertake the intellectual challenge.

This basically indicated the extent of government policy on higher education. It must be mentioned that though the subject of higher education did not gain much momentum and could not be accurately described as active, it had been given some consideration. The Director of Education had emphasized in 1965 that

The greatest need is for a philosophy of higher education. Efforts must be made to formulate a curriculum designed to meet the needs and interests of the individual and the contemporary society. . . . The task is made more difficult by a body of opinion which acknowledges the necessity of a differentiated curriculum suited to the varying abilities and aptitudes of different individuals, but which denies the efficacy of any course of study that does not closely resemble the time-honoured "academic" curriculum of the English university or college.²

While the Board of Education was cautiously treading the path to higher education, there was a group of progressive spirits who persisted in agitating for equal and greatly improved educational opportunities. They received a generous response from many groups

¹Idem, 1953, pp. 13-14.

²Idem, 1965, p. 10.

and individuals who were considered knowledgeable and could influence those in the administrative circles of educational and governmental activities.¹

Bermudianization of the Teaching Personnel

Very closely inter-related with the issues of integration and teacher training is the issue of Bermudianization, for the improvement of educational opportunities necessitated more highly trained and qualified teaching personnel. This issue, like most of the other social issues, arose out of a concern that the current social practices of the sixties were unacceptable and should be remedied without the characteristic hesitancy and delay.

The issue surfaced as Bermudians, especially black Bermudians, began to express a strong sense of nationalism in keeping with the social practices that had reached international proportions. Theoretically the government was endeavoring to implement the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee, other commissions, and the Department in improving the quality of the teaching staff. Government embarked upon a recruitment program designed to obtain highly qualified teaching personnel. Increasingly, there was an annual recruitment of teachers so that by 1967 approximately 40 percent of the 576 teaching personnel in government schools were expatriates.² (This term came to be used to describe a foreign worker in any line of endeavor in Bermuda.)

According to Scott in his article in the Bermuda Sun, the

¹Royal Gazette, 3 October 1964, 25, 27 January, 3, 9 June 1965.

²Annual Report, 1967, p. 15; H. O. B.: Wooding, Commonwealth Report on the Bermuda Civil Disorders, 1968 (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda Government, 1968), p. 123.

issue was not so much that there were recruits, for this was an acceptable means of filling the need for teachers. It was the implementation of the policy that caused concern among blacks. Whether by intent or accident, the recruitment program was directed to England. Annually large numbers of "expatriate" teachers would arrive to teach in the Colony's school.¹ A letter to the editor of the Royal Gazette asserted that it was not uncommon to find that "expats" who had little or no practical training and qualification or experience were employed.² These teachers were on contract and received many handsome fringe benefits to which the locals were not entitled.

One of the far-reaching effects of the policy of recruitment of teachers, as Grant stated, was that there was an influx of white teachers in predominantly black schools. This inevitably occasioned cultural and racial problems. Blacks were concerned that the children were being exposed to and, in some instances, inculcating the values and norms of the "expats." They also became concerned that there was little attempt to recruit teachers from the West Indies. These teachers would be black and be able to transmit a culture similar in many respects to that of the black Bermudians.³ A further cause of concern was that the "expats" were not only getting preferential treatment but that they often broke their contracts. This was a drain on public finances which could have been diverted into positive ends.⁴

¹Ibid., pp. 123, 125.

²Royal Gazette, 7 February 1968.

³Wooding, pp. 125-126, 137.

⁴Plowman Report, p. 38; Richardson Report, pp. 5-7.

The local teachers, who were mainly black, resented the invasion of the teaching profession by whites and their more casual dress and methodology. There was a growing concern about the quality of instruction the students received. The grievances were increasing and in most instances real. These negative attitudes fostered ill-will and antagonism; the situation was becoming volatile.¹

The Plowman, Richardson, and Wooding reports recommended that the government and the Department of Education take immediate steps to remedy the situation. They recommended that the Department of Education take action to Bermudianize the teaching profession in line with similar processes in government and private concerns. Government responded by implementing a plan for making loans, awards, and scholarships available for current and prospective teachers. By the end of 1965, £26,000 had been disbursed to teachers through these arrangements. The amount of loans, awards, scholarships for teacher training and other fields amounted to \$80,000 by 1972 (monetary conversion took place in 1970). As Williams stated in his 1967 report, "Prospects for an academically outstanding and largely Bermudian staff are extremely good."²

Tertiary Education

The trend of students to remain in secondary schools beyond the first school examination, the "O" levels, created the need for post-secondary education to a greater degree than was currently practiced. Some of the grammar schools had seriously applied themselves

¹Bermuda Sun, 6 December 1969, p. 9; Wooding, p. 125.

²Annual Report, 1967, p. 7; 1965, table 5; 1972, p. 3.

to providing such opportunities for the elite by adding a sixth form. An extensive study of the current practices had revealed some weaknesses in the system, however. As the Director of Education commented, the numbers of those who opted for the sixth form in each school was small, and projections did not tend to indicate a great increase in the foreseeable future. There was no real incentive to do so since school leavers with "O" levels could receive rather attractive salaries on the job market. From the financial aspect, the estimates for passes at "A" levels (the external examination written at the end of the two-year course) were relatively low when compared with the astronomical cost of providing such education.¹ In such a small country, "full secondary education for all with adequate facilities for a sixth form center could only be provided by centralizing provisions so that resources of finance and of teachers were used economically."²

These and other considerations convinced those in educational administrative circles of the feasibility of amalgamation. Two individuals, D. J. Williams, Director of the Board of Education, and Kenneth Robinson, Senior Education Officer, at the foremost ranks of the educational enterprise, made a bold and precedent-setting recommendation. They were progressives who were not deterred by criticism, partisan strife, or indifference. They proposed the organization of a Sixth Form College.³ According to Williams this was the first time that the

¹Idem, 1965, p. 6.

²Houghton Report, p. 20.

³Interview with D. J. Williams, Hamilton, Bermuda, 9 September 1982; Royal Gazette, 11 February 1965.

term was used to define further education. In eventuality this is what it would be as long as

The declared policy of maintaining the British image albeit adapted to our socio-economic needs makes it imperative to establish sixth form studies at a level corresponding to at least one year of liberal arts college work in the USA. To produce students of such high calibre the scholastic tone must be set by the head teachers and extend to subject teachers with good honors.¹

Towards a More Meaningful Tertiary Education

A changing and more positive attitude towards knowledge was being reflected in the community. The traditional view that knowledge was transmitted by practice was being replaced by a new and contemporary attitude that knowledge could be transmitted impersonally, through books and teaching, and that it was testable apart from experience, e.g., examinations. This created a positive attitudinal change in many areas of the educational enterprise. It was perhaps more visible at the administrative and managerial levels. The new concept that technical instruction and even college and university education should be available to all members of the community gradually evolved.²

The problem of making meaningful education available to such a large group of individuals was not easily resolved; but democracy demanded the extension of the principle of equality of opportunity in all fields of human endeavor including education. Its interpretation in Bermuda called for providing educational facilities adequate to supply the need and demand at public expense. This necessitated differentiated

¹ Annual Report, 1960, p. 16.

² Houghton Report, p. 3.

courses of studies, not only academic courses, but programs in commerce, engineering, technology, and other vocational fields in which advanced training was being obtained in institutions of learning abroad.¹

Higher education which formerly was thought to have only cultural and professional value now assumed a social and credential value. An increasing number of high-school graduates and other members of the community looked to higher education as a means of upward mobility and social function. The thought of material benefit eclipsed most other considerations and encouraged a rapid increase in interest in post-secondary education. Students who had neither the ability nor the inclination to profit from higher instruction sought to acquire the qualifications available at a level to qualify for the expanding job market. The commercial interests and the government often deplored the quality of educational attainment of many applicants.² Gradually as the need for academic preparation at the local level became more apparent, it was recognized that the opportunity to upgrade academic and technical skills must be made available to all and preferably in a local institution of higher learning.³

Financing education was becoming an increasing concern, for the burden of finance grew as the proportion of students of the statutory school age rose. The statistics showed that there were approximately 10,057 students in school in 1965 as compared to 3,000

¹ Annual Report, 1975-76; Bermuda Recorder, 11 January 1964, p. 3.

² Bermuda Chamber of Commerce, Bulletin, 1969, p. 9 (hereafter cited as Commerce Report).

³ Commerce Report, 1969, p. 9; Wooding, p. 121.

in 1920.¹ D. J. Williams, the Director of Education, had warned in 1957 that

. . . there may come a point in the Colony's educational expenditure beyond which the department cannot go without jeopardizing the Colony's financial position . . . The present day figure of educational expenditure had gone from 6 percent in 1930 to almost 17 percent. We are in danger of being priced right out of the market by the increasing population.²

The record increase in educational expenditures during the 1960s can be seen by the statistics for the fiscal period January 1969 to March 1970. The overall educational expenditure was in excess of 20 percent of the total government expenditures; education received \$7,421,585 as compared with the next highest recipient, public works \$4,200,124. Tourism, the prime industry, received \$3,714,774. Between 1972 and 1979, government had appropriated approximately 18 percent of the total budget to education. This amounted to \$14,000,000 during 1978-79 (see appendix D). The commercial interests looked to government to provide the facilities for potential employers to acquire the necessary competencies and skills at the tertiary level, but they expressed a willingness to assist in a variety of ways.³ A great deal of discussion and debate centered around the need for tertiary education, despite the rising cost of education. The opinion in many circles was that the amalgamation of the sixth-form classes in the various

¹ Annual Report, 1965, p. 17.

² Royal Gazette, 4 February 1957. This issue of the Gazette provided the text of a speech delivered by D. J. Williams, Director of Education, during the third of a series of Sunday night broadcasts over radio station ZBM. The speech was in connection with the campaign against overpopulation.

³ Bermuda Sun, 2 August 1969, p. 1; Commerce Report, 1969, pp. 9-10.

secondary schools would probably eliminate some educational expenses. The decision was made in favor of amalgamation.

Academic Sixth Form

The problem of creating such an institution was far more complex than it appeared. It became one of the burning issues with which the educational administrators were confronted. D. J. Williams, the Director of Education, recognized that there were many concerns. First, none of the schools with a sixth form was inclined to abdicate its prestigious standing and change its tradition. School administrators saw no valid reason to change from certainty to uncertainty. Second, the established schools had strong links with universities abroad--in England, Canada, and the USA. They were able to place their students well. They reasoned that the benefits to be gained from a merger were minimal and expressed a strong desire to retain their own students. Further, they referred to schools where the innovation was in progress in other countries. The experience had shown that separation was not in the best interests of either group of students. The sixth form, as an extension of the secondary education on the same premises, was a natural climax to a secondary-school career. It provided opportunities for developing leadership ability. It invigorated the performance of the lower forms and attracted teachers who were well qualified, whether expatriates or locals.¹ The arguments favoring amalgamation were that the sixth-form course was creating a revolutionary but positive

¹Bermuda Sun, 18 October 1969.

change in the quality of secondary education. Students were reaching the more advanced operational levels of learning. They were really learning to think and to read for comprehension; to be selective and to critically examine and evaluate the literature they read.¹

The argument also revolved around age, environment, and prestige. Should a sixteen-year-old continue another two years in the same environment as a "schoolperson" while many of his contemporaries were completing their sophomore year at a university or college abroad? Should he/she be expected to accept such terms when the possibility of employment with a very attractive salary on leaving the fifth form loomed so high? Such circumstances would make it difficult to attract and hold students in the sixth form in any event and reduce the number of students that would opt for a sixth-form education at either institution. The small numbers of students would not justify the high cost of extra buildings, equipment, and staff.²

The arguments of the proponents of the Sixth Form College outweighed those of the opponents. The advocates successfully challenged their opponents and made a strong and impressive case in favor of the college. The committee appointed to study the feasibility of the proposed college returned a report in favor of establishing a centrally located institution for further education to be called the Sixth Form Centre. It became even more imperative since the bulge in birth rate added to the demand for places in the sixth form, and

¹Annual Report, 1964, pp. 8-9; Bermuda Sun, 16 May 1964, p. 1.

²Idem, 14, 28 November, 5, 12, 19 December 1964, 25, 29 January 1965; J. Cattell, "Education at the Top," Bermuda Churchman Magazine, August 1967, pp. 7-8.

the increase in the compulsory school-leaving age allowed students to stay on at school beyond the "0" levels.¹

According to Williams, by 1967 it was apparent that the restructuring of the educational experience "moved inexorably to a common goal--the preparation of pupils of varying abilities for the form of further education best suited to their talents and their needs." There was a need for an Academic Sixth Form, for a Commercial Sixth Form, for a Technical Institute, and a Hotel and Catering College.²

The new Academic Sixth Form Centre was chartered in 1967. It was housed in temporary quarters and later moved to its new premises in Prospect in November 1968. "Oppositions understandably came first from the three schools which were to lose their fractional tops and then with rancor from a segment of the teaching profession who resented the choice of an expatriate to head the new venture."³

Soon after, the amalgamation the Centre came under the administration of D. J. Williams, who for a while performed the dual role of education chief and head of the Six Form Centre. The staff was academically outstanding and largely Bermudian. By September 1969, the permanent staff included four Ph.D.s, three of whom were Bermudian. The curriculum followed the "A"-level course with minor modifications. As the head of the Centre stated:

The entrance requirements were not deliberately shaped to encourage enrollment in the first instance; enforcement of acceptable standards will be firmly applied during the progress of the two or three year course offered. . . . The urgent

¹ Annual Report, 1967, p. 7-8; Bermuda Sun, 23 January 1965, pp. 1, 4.

² Annual Report, 1967, pp. 7-8.

³ *Ibid.*

task of the moment is to inculcate a climate of student attitude and reaction to match the freedom from traditional school discipline and the opportunity to ease the transfer between school and university.¹

Technical Education

It was mentioned above that previously most of the training in the trades and the technical areas was obtained in the job. This arrangement proved adequate for a time, but as the literacy rate increased, the elementary system tended to probe forward into the older age groups that were normally considered beyond the defined limits. It became necessary to make arrangements to provide what is now known as secondary education to these groups. Specific subjects were introduced and taught in special higher classes or in higher grade schools in an effort to meet the growing demand for clerks and technicians in commerce and industry.²

The increasing sophistication of the demands of society necessitated the establishment of a technical institution. The concept of such an institution had been advocated several years earlier by progressive minds like Francis Patton, a graduate of Princeton University. He urged the implementation of a program of higher education which would provide opportunities of both an academic and a technical nature for students of post-primary age. Adverse elements including a disinterested group of politicians and distrust of the theoretical hindered the implementation of his plan.³

¹Interview with D. J. Williams.

²Bermuda Sun, 25 October 1969.

³Ibid.; interview with D. J. Williams.

Patton's suggestion lay dormant for a while; however, its partial fulfillment was realized with the establishment of the Nicholl Institute in the 1930s. This was the first local center to be established expressly for technical instruction in Bermuda. The two-year course provided basic training along technical lines for terminal students as well as for those who desired to continue their education in the field. The administrators of the school did a commendable job in providing the technical instruction as outlined in their aims and objectives, but the program was far from fulfilling the needs of the growing economy. Yet government made no further provisions for technical education. They seemed satisfied with the existing arrangement by which boys who were able to pass the qualifying examinations were accepted as apprentices at HM Dockyard, where a thorough training was provided in various trades. A small number of students also went to England or Jamaica for technical training when funds were available.¹

The closing of the dockyard greatly influenced the government's decision to initiate plans for providing technical education locally. Educators at that time were unaware that they were actually creating the nucleus of the Bermuda College. Though arrangements were made for students already in the program at the dockyard to complete their courses in England, it was generally accepted that some legislative action was necessary so that technical education could be available to a larger segment of students and that public funds should be appropriated for providing such a facility. The closure of the dockyard

¹ Annual Report, 1949, p. 11; interview with D. J. Williams.

highlighted the necessity of proceeding as quickly as possible with the construction of a new secondary technical school for boys.¹

In 1955 a new type of school emerged in response to the need. The Junior Technical School was designed to provide a good technical institution with adequate facilities and appropriate courses that would offer the basic qualifications necessary for middle and technical positions that were becoming increasingly available with the financial prosperity and mobility of the island.²

The headmaster, appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, arrived in 1955. He soon became "actively engaged in dealing with the various matters connected with the building, equipping, staffing, and the curriculum."

School opened September 1956 with an enrollment of eighty-six boys ranging in age from twelve to fourteen years. Twenty of these boys qualified for the full five-year course and sixty-four were admitted to a three-year trades course. The school was housed in adequate and modern facilities at the old Prospect Garrison.³

The school was not initially very popular since it deviated from the norm in three main areas. First, it provided post-elementary education outside the secondary schools. Second, the curriculum was of a broad liberal kind which prepared students for technical, industrial employment. Third, language requirements were minimal. Therefore the school could not compete with the sixth forms developing in the

¹ Annual Report, 1955, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ *Idem*, 1963, p. 6; McPhee, "Bermuda College," manuscript, "Private Papers" Bermuda, 1973, p. 3.

grammar schools. Its curriculum provided for a broad occupational band primarily in auto mechanical engineering and construction. Despite its lower status, the school gradually became popular in industrial areas since its students often became apprentices or lower level technicians. These positions, which held promise for occupational competence and financial security, attracted many youth. Over the next ten years, the Institute earned a first-class reputation for competence and reliability."¹

With the enthusiastic and progressive spirit of the administrators and the rapid expansion of government expenditure in the institution, the Technical Institute evolved into its present form. The major change during the last decade was the upgrading of the Institute to the Department of Technology. The Act of 1951 had defined technical instruction in much broader terms. It was seen as "instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and in the application of specific branches of science and art to specific industries and employment."² As a result of this progressive step, the quality of instruction and, consequently, of its graduates improved greatly. The institution reached another historic moment when, for the first time some of its students sat for the City and Guilds Examinations--examinations which hold a prestigious status in the local business world.

The Bermuda Hotel School

Further indications that tertiary education was becoming more

¹ Annual Report, 1965, p. 8; Royal Gazette, 30 May 1959, p. 8.

² Annual Report, 1965, p. 10.

available were seen by the announcement in 1959 that plans for founding a co-ed School of Hotel Operation. This institution, designed primarily for students who leave school at sixteen or seventeen, marked "the first official attempt to provide trained local personnel for Bermuda's prime 'industry', the tourist business."¹ The educational enterprise was now seen as having some articulate relationship to the economic system.

Government had long recognized the need to train girls in the culinary arts, in the art of homemaking, and in providing hotel and domestic service. Several measures had been adopted over the years in an effort to provide such a training.²

The simplest level of domestic training developed in the schools around 1936 with training in domestic skills for girls. These centers gave some preparation especially for those who left school early. Occasionally the practical training was combined with some further schooling. Later a more formal curriculum of homecraft and related skills was established. It included some formal education and crafts--especially hobbies.³

The development of domestic training was low on the list of priorities for schools, primarily because the idea persisted (as it did in most British colonial territories) that for education to be worthwhile it must be mainly literary. The system of education transplanted to Bermuda was a literary education and the English administrators

¹Ibid., p. 8; McPhee, "Bermuda College," p. 4.

²Annual Report, 1965, pp. 6-7.

³Bermuda Domestic Science School Act, 1936: no. 8, "Public Acts," 2:1453.

perpetuated the literary tradition which became the symbol of prestige in Bermuda. By contrast, technology, agriculture, domestic science, and other practical subjects did not become popular despite efforts to make them appealing.

It is noteworthy that the modest beginnings of the Department of Hotel Technology may be traced to the School of Domestic Science founded by Lady Hall in 1938. The school was designed "to produce young ladies qualified in the home arts to be fully proficient to act as hostesses for home entertainment." Gwen Evans was the instructor.¹

The establishment of the Bermuda Hotel School in 1961 marked the beginning of an organized program at government expense. There were eight students and a staff of three. Jean Bornet, the principal, was assisted by his wife, who taught restaurant services. There was also a chef instructor.²

By 1964 the institution showed signs of growth and the facilities were expanded. An old army building was remodeled and a pastry kitchen was added. The lounge and restaurant facilities were also enlarged.³

Neil Hansford-Smith, who became Bornet's successor in 1964, conceived the facility as providing education in the skills on a much higher level. He upgraded the school to the hotel and catering requirements of the City and Guilds examinations. The school was designated

¹F. Ming, "The Department of Hotel Technology," manuscript, Bermuda College, 1981. Address given at Stonington Hotel, Bermuda College, 8 July 1981.

²Ibid., p. 4.

³Ibid., p. 6.

Bermuda Hotel and Catering College the following year. The school experienced continued growth during Hansford-Smith's ten years in office, and the facility was expanded. Among Hansford-Smith's aspirations was the desire to form an association with the Hotel and Motel Association of America and of Great Britain. He succeeded in this endeavor and to date the school in Bermuda stands unique as the only educational institution outside the United Kingdom to hold such a distinction.¹

The college expanded its efforts further by providing pre-hotel training within the secondary schools in 1967. The objective was to introduce students to the industry and to provide introductory and preparatory skills for those who were desirous of pursuing careers in the industry at various levels.²

The Commercial Sixth Form

Around 1967 another innovation in educational experimentation was added with the establishment of a Commercial Sixth Form. For several years commercial subjects at the secondary level (typing, shorthand, and other clerically related skills) were being offered. These subjects, like the technical skills, were thought to be inferior to the classical or academic diet. The students who were encouraged to pursue these courses were usually those who for various reasons were low achievers in the academic subjects. The commercial subjects were not considered as equally important as academic skills. However, the

¹Ibid., p. 7; interview with E. Guishard, Bermuda College, Devonshire, 5 January 1983.

²Ming, p. 7.

business community supported the commercial forms since the goal of the institution was to provide personnel for the various government, commercial, and industrial enterprises. Students aspired to become typists, clerks in various capacities, and stenographers.¹

The Richardson Report indicated that, as in other areas, increasing sophistication of commerce created the need for a corresponding upgrading of skills and facilities. Greater interest in providing more serious training in commercial skills was shown as Bermuda became more dependent on business and commerce from increased local and off-shore operations including exempt companies.²

The Houghton Report had emphasized the need for serious training in the theories and techniques of business and commerce. This would automatically take such training out of the realm of secondary-school education. The report recommended, therefore, that commercial subjects should no longer be taught at the secondary level.

Instead, there should be developed a commercial sixth in the appropriate school, into which would go a number of pupils of both sexes who, although their academic attainments might qualify them for admission to a university, do not wish to continue their academic studies any further, but who are ready to take commercial studies at a much more worthwhile level and could be expected³ to absorb the skills of Shorthand and Typing in their stride.

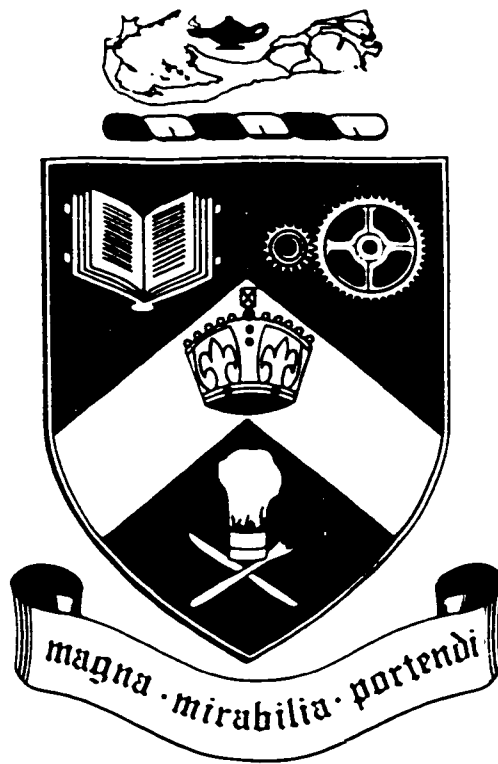
It was the opinion of the Committee that such trained personnel would be readily employed by the business community of Bermuda and that such training would prove much more economical than the current practice of sending locals overseas for training.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.; Annual Report, 1967, p. 6.

³Houghton Report, p. 21.

THE COLLEGE ARMS



The College Arms shows in heraldic terms the union of Academic Studies and Commerce (both represented by the open book), Technology (represented by the meshed gears), and Hotel Technology (represented by the chef's hat and cutlery) to form Bermuda College. The crest above the shield shows the map of Bermuda with the lamp of learning. The motto, taken from Sallust's "Jugurthine Wars," means "Great and wonderful things are predicted."

The institution of a Sixth Form Commercial at the Whitney Institute Center was a progressive step towards providing tertiary or higher education in commercial subjects locally. It served the educational and employee needs of the time commendably. There was an increasing need, however, of more appropriate arrangements to facilitate the new educational urgency.¹

The desire for a more representative system of higher education became greater as society recognized the feasibility of a more unified system.

In 1969, a recommendation was made to the Parliamentary Member for Education that the three institutions--The Bermuda Technical Institute, the Hotel and Catering College, and the Academic Sixth Form Centre--be united and known as the Further Education Complex. Each unit was provided with an advisory board to assist in implementing the project.

Summary

Chapter 6 has discussed the major issues in education. It has presented evidence to indicate that at least the majority of Bermudians came to accept the "integration" concept. It has shown that the government and the Department of Education, acting on recommendations from several research studies and reports, and on their own conviction, was making a great if somewhat belated effort to provide equal educational opportunities for blacks and to achieve integration in public education.

¹ Annual Report, 1968; McPhee, "Bermuda College," pp. 3-4; Royal Gazette, 9 December 1964; Bermuda Sun, 6 May 1967.

The chapter has also described how the issue of teacher training and the inter-related issue of Bermudianization emerged and became issues with which the government had to deal. Government recognized the gravity of the issues, and the pressure of educational reformers and liberal-minded politicians aroused the Department of Education to take progressive positions with respect to teacher-training and Bermudianization of the teaching personnel in public education. The scope and extent of government financing of teacher training plans increased in frequency and in the 1980s the efforts to assist Bermudians in upgrading their pedagogic skills is still expanding. Government continually seeks to promote the wider preparation of teachers and a more efficient system of diffusion of knowledge through its teachers who are predominantly Bermudians.

The chapter has also discussed the issue of tertiary education. It showed how the concept of education as a legitimate activity for government developed during the mid-1960s. Consequently there was an increasing acceptance of government to be committed to providing higher education for its youth--many of whom had been permitted to remain in school past the statutory school-leaving age. It shows how the government projected its leadership in the establishment of tertiary education in the areas of Academic Studies (Sixth Form), Commercial Sixth Form, and the Technical Institute. This accomplishment was not without its tensions, anxieties which created the issue of tertiary education.

The development of tertiary education was not without its critics and predictors of doom. However, government was not influenced by the opposition of its critics. Government sought to resolve the issue

and became heavily committed to promoting and financing tertiary education. By 1975 government's involvement in tertiary education had resulted in the merger of the schools to form Bermuda College. It has given higher education in Bermuda a new and exciting dimension.

CHAPTER VII

THE BERMUDA COLLEGE

The definition of popular education conceived around the mid-1970s included the development of a coordinated and integrated system of higher education.¹ It recommended the amalgamation of the Academic Sixth Forms, the Commercial Sixth, the Department of Technology, and the Hotel Department to form Bermuda College, an institution of higher education modeled to some extent on the North American community college. To progressive minds the tempo of events and the economic picture indicated the need to give serious study to the immediate implementation of the provisions for such a college in Bermuda, where students could receive a higher education in their own cultural milieu. There was a lack of unanimity among the various interest groups, but for the most part there was a general acceptance of the need for positive and progressive steps to provide higher education. As the Minister of Education, Ernest Vesey, expressed it: "The need for the founding of a college became more obvious when government realized that in order to Bermudianize local industry, it was necessary for Bermudians to obtain occupational competence."²

¹ Annual Report, 1964, p. 10.

² Bermuda, Bermuda College, Calendar, 1976-77, p. 2.

There were no adequate facilities available locally and overseas training was becoming increasingly expensive and inaccessible.¹

The dream of a college was not new. It had fired the imagination of progressive minds in every century since the colonization of Bermuda. Plans were projected with varying degrees of emphasis and success. Another plan to establish a college was being proposed and its advocates were determined to utilize the available resources to make the plan succeed. The practical implementation of solutions may have presented grave issues, trials, pressures, and uncertainties, but Bermuda College stands in glowing tribute to the individuals who had the courage, the determination, and the vision to pursue their goal. Bermuda College plays a major role in providing higher educational opportunities for developing competencies and skills not only to youth but to any interested eligible individual. This chapter presents a comprehensive survey of the origin, growth, and development of the Bermuda College.

Origins

The concept of a Bermuda College had a rather modest beginning. It is difficult to document precisely when the proposal for a college in Bermuda was revived, for the origins of the college can be traced back to 1951. At that time the closing of the dockyard caused concern over the need for formal training in various skills, particularly technical and trade skills. Efforts were made to fill the need, but these proved to be only a temporary solution to the problem. Around 1965 the pace and scope of interest seemed to have indicated a great

¹Bermuda Sun, 24 September 1964; 4 March 1967; 27 January 1973; Royal Gazette, 13 July 1964; 3 May 1968; 20 July 1972; 22 October 1980.

concentration on the need to provide an appropriate form of education to fulfill the demands of a rapidly growing and increasingly sophisticated business community.

There was considerable debate in the community and in the political circles of the United Bermuda Party and indeed among members of the Progressive Labor Party as to how we could best educate and train our young people to fulfill the large number of jobs which were being generated by the increase in international company business and the growth of tourism.¹

Mansfield Brock, the Permanent Secretary for Education, but one of the leading proponents of the creation of Bermuda College, stated that a large number of personnel had to be imported to supply the sophisticated skills which the exempted companies and other business and commercial interests required and it was the consensus that probably the most effective method of achieving the Bermudianization of these areas was to provide educational facilities locally.²

Discussions soon became more purposeful and proposals were made by 1970 to transform the dream into reality. The moving forces behind the idea included Mansfield Brock, then principal of the Sandys Secondary School, later the first Chief Executive Officer of the college; Stanley Ratteray, the Minister for Education when the idea was first mooted; and David Sauls, the Permanent Secretary for Education. Each one of these individuals contributed enthusiasm and expertise to the proposition. However, "if there is any one who deserves the credit of being the founder of Bermuda College, it should be Gloria

¹Interview with Mansfield Brock, Department of Education, Paget, Bermuda, 15 August 1981.

²Ibid.

Mc Phee, Dr. Ratteray's successor."¹ As the Minister for education during the initial stages of the inception of the college, Mc Phee showed great interest in the idea and felt very keenly that there should be a local institution of higher or tertiary education which would provide opportunity for all Bermudian young people to obtain higher education "without regard to their social condition or financial background."²

Proposal for a College in Bermuda

Meeting at various times and under varying circumstances, this group of interested individuals formulated their plans. The positive results of their collaborative efforts were gratifying and seemed to indicate that they should approach the Director of Education concerning the feasibility of such a proposition. The Bermuda educators and the government had recognized the need for developing a local college, but the views of the advocates of the college seemed too volatile to be advocated wholeheartedly. Although the proposition seemed dubitable, he expressed a willingness to explore the practical considerations of such an enterprise.³ Gradually the Director became more convinced that the plan was generally acceptable and he recommended it to the Minister of Education for further study.

In 1974 the college proposals were introduced to the Cabinet. The Minister of Education enumerated the merits of having a local college and suggested that this was a propitious time to act. The

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

Cabinet was receptive though not overly enthusiastic about the idea. The Cabinet formulated a sub-committee to consider the proposals, the two most important of which were the economics of a unified campus and the ideal site for the location of the college. Skepticism, delays, opposition, and arguments from the government against the feasibility of the college created many hardships and obstructions. Another obstruction was the difficulty of persuading the existing and autonomous institutions previously mentioned--the Academic Sixth Forms, the Commercial Sixth, the Technical Institute and the Hotel School--to agree to unification into the Bermuda College. Opposition was very strong, particularly from those who sought to maintain the status quo and who were of the opinion that the North American model recommended by the supporters of the College Plan would be preferred by the promoters of the proposal.¹

The diverse backgrounds of most of the members of Cabinet delayed their official response for some time, but the press reports seemed to give some assurances to the proponents of the college and they determined to pursue their plan. These individuals could also depend on the reassuring vote of their friends in Parliament regarding the proposals they presented. These friends represented a social and political elite and wielded considerable influence in the community. They were among the most respected educators and politicians in the colony. Some were involved in political activities and others were successful businessmen. Their friends were primarily from the black

¹Ibid.; Gloria McPhee, "Recollections of a Planning Design for an Institution of Higher Education," Bermuda, manuscript, 1982.

community. The group had powerful allies in the House as well. They could count on votes and on advice from these allies.¹

The Bermuda College Act, 1974: Its Provisions

These factors provided the group with ample influence to lobby for the college plan and they pursued the work diligently. The Minister received the proposals and submitted the completed document to the House of Assembly. The discussion of the proposals engendered surprisingly little opposition and excitement. The Assembly ratified the request of the Minister and the Bermuda College Act of July 1, 1974, was incorporated with few dissenting votes.²

The authority for managing the college was vested in a Board of Governors constituted according to the provisions outlined. Thaddeus Trott, a man of wide administrative experience, was chosen as the director and the other six members were elected.

The legislators passed an act granting the Board of Governors full authority ". . . to establish an institution of education to be called the Bermuda College . . . to provide full and part-time education and training for persons over compulsory school age as defined in the Education Act of 1954."³

The control and general management of the college was in the hands of the Board of Governors, the maximum number of members being seven. The government itself had no legal jurisdiction over the

¹Royal Gazette, 6 August 1973; 20 June 1974.

²Bermuda, Legislature, "The Bermuda College Act, 1974," no. 68, in *Private Acts of the Legislature of the Islands of Bermuda*, 1975, p. 265. See appendix E.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 266-267.

college. The Act provided for perpetual succession and for a common seal. The Board could acquire property without the approval of the Minister. It was empowered to exercise general supervision of the affairs, purposes, and functions of the college, and to have the custody, control, and disposition of all property, funds, fees, and investments of the college. It determined the curriculum, awarded diplomas, certificates, and other academic distinctions, and provided pecuniary benefits for the employees. It was empowered to do all the necessary transactions for the enhancement of the college. One important provision was the permission to utilize public officers and teachers in Government employment as part-time college instructors in their areas of expertise.

The financial arrangements included the provision for the maintenance of proper accounts of the financial affairs of the College and provision for an annual audit of the books of the College: the auditor was to be appointed by him and it was the duty of the auditor to report the results of his findings to the Minister. It was designated that the Act would come into effect on such a day as the Minister would, by notice in the Gazette, appoint.¹

Board of Directors

The incorporation of the Bermuda College Act was a historic occasion for the group and for Bermuda as a whole. The Gazette report stated: "Bermuda officially came of age, insofar as post-secondary education is concerned, when Parliament passed the Bermuda College Act in 1974." Several individuals from all socio-economic levels

¹Ibid., p. 269.

expressed pleasure at the speed with which the group had achieved their goal. They feverishly set to work and called their first meeting in June 1974. It was a solemn occasion! It marked the realization of their hopes for a college and the beginning of their implementation of the proposals. It was their solemn responsibility to set the college on a successful journey.¹

The trustees having been selected, they proceeded to establish rules for themselves as a body and to pledge themselves to the support and promotion of the college. After agreeing upon procedural matters, they made one key appointment. The head post in the college was offered to Mansfield Brock, who had previously been encouraged to apply for it. He graciously accepted the honor and the challenge it presented. It was also agreed that the college departments would remain in the location of the present three nuclear institutions, thereafter to be designated departments.²

Defining the College Model

The chief order of business was that of establishing the college model, the financial policies, the curriculum of the college, and other administrative matters relative to the proper functioning of the college.

Extensive study had been given to the nature and form of the college curriculum since these were of extreme importance in defining the college model. The founders had solicited advice from several educational institutions in Canada, England, and the USA. There was

¹Royal Gazette, 6 June 1974.

²Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1974-75; Bermuda Sun, 23 February 1974, p. 4.

intense feeling among the traditionalists to follow the British model; the more liberal-minded advocated a North American model since that seemed the most appropriate and the most attractive to the prospective students. Eventually the group accepted the proposal of the Chief Executive Officer, Mansfield Brock, who had been commissioned to a fact-finding tour of Canada to examine how the different types of community colleges in Canada were administered. It was felt that such knowledge would be helpful in solving related but different problems in developing an uniquely Bermuda Community College. Another stated reason for his tour was "to make personal contact with a large number of Community College administrators in Canada and the United States who together would constitute a valuable resource for obtaining technical advice on the development of the Bermuda College."¹

On his return from the tour of ten community colleges in Canada and a few in the United States, Brock submitted his proposal for creating "One symmetrical and consistent organization." He also expressed the desire that the freedom, variety, and elasticity enjoyed by the three schools that were now to be amalgated would be preserved. There was, therefore, a minimum number of specific definitions in the act. The range of tolerance was wide and the regulations and handbooks that were created under his administrative leadership set the directional pattern of growth for the new institution without much difficulty. The legislators saw the creation of this institution as

¹Interview with Mansfield Brock; Mansfield Brock, Jr., "Community College Study Tour Report," manuscript, Hamilton, Bermuda, 1975.

"providing tertiary education for persons over the statutory school age. Its purpose [was] to prepare its graduates for further advanced academic and professional education or with skills and competencies which make them readily employable either in business, trades, technical, hotel, or service occupations."¹ Further, the structure allowed for increased differentiation of the college program and for the establishment of closer relationships with various sectors of the business interests in respect to the type of education most desirable for prospective employees.² Many institutions of higher learning vied for a place in the sun where they could have extensions of campuses.

Financial Policies

Bermuda College may have been founded as a school of the Board of Governors, but financially it was a college of the government. The Board of Directors created and shaped the college; legislators, through governmental funds, paid for it. When the House of Assembly granted the college charter, they pledged the school a yearly amount of funds and the

. . . permission to accept, acquire and hold real property of any description and subject to the terms and conditions upon which the same is held, sell, exchange, lease, mortgage, dispose of, turn to account, or otherwise deal with such property, provided that the College may acquire real property by devise or bequest without the said prior approval of the Minister.³

The two main sources of income were the annuity appropriated by the government and tuition. At the outset, the financial status of

¹Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1974-75, p. 19.

²Commerce Report, 1969, p. 9.

³Bermuda College Act, 1974, p. 266.

the college was satisfactory, though there were additional operational expenses. For the next two years the college's expenditures were relatively minimal. The physical plant was only temporarily located in existing buildings. These were inadequate; therefore, one of the first assignments to the Minister of Education in connection with the college was to locate a feasible site for the college. This was a difficult task; however, in the end it was decided to purchase Stonington Estate.¹

The Board established very minimal tuition fees--as a deliberate act designed "to ensure that no deserving student is denied the opportunity to attend the College solely because of the inability to pay fees."² The tuition was set at \$90 per annum to be paid in advance each term. The registration fee of \$10 for all courses was applied against annual tuition.³

It seemed desirable to obtain the expertise of an educational administrator with wide experience in college administration to act as coordinator of the program. The man chosen for this important responsibility was Ross Ford. Though not officially designated the Chief Executive Officer, he succeeded because of his many competencies and skills in designing a viable program for the college. He designed a characteristically Bermudian program. He was rather optimistic about the success of the program, zealous in implementing it, and inspirational to faculty and staff.

¹Bermuda Sun, 2 March 1974, pp. 1-2; 3 July 1974, p. 1; 5. 19 October 1974, p. 1; 7 December 1974, p. 1.

²Bermuda College Calendar. 1975-76, p. 16.

³Ibid.; interview with Mansfield Brock.

The Social System of Bermuda College

With these necessary arrangements completed by the Board, the college turned to the task of defining its educational system primarily in the areas of personnel, curriculum, and facilities. One of the first acts was to incorporate the existing institutions--the former Sixth Form Centre, the Hotel College, and the Bermuda Technical Institute--into departments. Their new designations were the Department of Academic Studies, the Department of Hotel Technology, and the Department of Technology and Commerce.

Personnel

The Board of Governors then turned to the important duty of selecting personnel. The majority of personnel was an inheritance from the three previous units. The Board of Governors then embarked on a recruiting campaign to obtain the additional personnel required. Emphasis was on specialization, high academic achievement and on Bermudianization. In those instances where foreigners were used to fill specialized areas, it was arranged that Bermudians would understudy the foreigners until they had acquired the necessary proficiencies.

Through correspondence with Bermudians abroad, contacts with institutions of higher learning abroad, with individuals who had good professional contacts, and through a screening process, the faculty members were finally selected. The faculty included a number of professors with doctoral degrees.

When appointments had been made, the clerical staff selected, and the equipment obtained, the Board prepared to finalize on the selection of the students--the clients toward whom all these energies

and arrangements had been directed--the school was officially established to serve their educational needs. Students are the most important components of the social system of a school. They are the important factor.¹ This the Board recognized and it provided guidelines for the selection of the student body. It also recognized that the effectiveness of the program would be determined by the selection of a student body that would be motivated to strive for excellence and for positive interaction between student body and faculty.

Most students were well prepared for college and performed creditably--whether at the University Preparation, University Transfer, or the Career Program level. There were some, however, who were not so well prepared. For most of these the entrance examination was a rigorous exercise, though, paradoxically, many critics referred to the easy admission standards as a sign of the inferiority of the college. It still had not occurred to many members of the community that Bermudians could obtain a program of studies second to none right in their own country.²

The Curriculum

The Board recognized that the college must have clearly defined philosophy, goals, and objectives to give it direction and purpose and the theoretical foundation for its curriculum. It endeavored to provide these ingredients for an effective and efficient program. The statement of the goals of the College shows three main emphases: (1) to meet

¹Sanford W. Reitman, Education, Society and Change (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1977), p. 406.

²Interview with Mansfield Brock; interview with George Cook, Bermuda College, Prospect, Devonshire, 5 January 1983.

the needs of the community; (2) to promote lifelong learning; and (3) to meet the educational needs of individuals. To achieve the first, the college would endeavour to produce graduates who would be competent and readily employable; graduates who would be prepared to accept successfully the challenges of the business, technical, and vocational sectors of the community.

The objective of promoting lifelong learning was to be met by providing extension courses to assist adults in upgrading their skills and in retraining through general educational and occupational programs. The College would endeavor to facilitate individual personal development through its programs.¹ Other factors which would also shape the curriculum included the demands of society, the characteristics of the students, and organized scholarly disciplines. These disciplines were designated as the Department of Academic Studies, the Department of Commerce and Technology, and the Department of Hotel Technology.

Curriculum Design

The course of studies was to be the chief means by which the educational objective was to be accomplished. But the curriculum was designed for far more than a vehicle for producing educated men for society. It was specifically designed to perpetuate the Bermuda culture. The course of study reveals that what the designers thought the proper diet for the Bermudian student was a careful blending of the most desirable attributes of the North American community college and

¹Bermuda College Calendar, 1975-76.

the British College of Further Education.¹

Time has demonstrated that it has been possible to develop course offerings at the Bermuda College which are specifically designed to meet Bermuda's current requirements and are flexible enough to meet changing needs. The program of studies at the first level of the two-year program was known as the Freshman Year Program. This course prepared a successful student to transfer to North America or to go on to complete 'A' levels. The course offerings are discussed below under "Report of Progress."

The evolution of the College during its first five years demonstrated the positive ways in which that diet was enriched by the implementation of its program.²

The First Year of Bermuda College

Ford's efforts to design an effective program were admirable. Critics could perceive many of the weaknesses inherent in introducing such a program of education into an environment that was not entirely friendly. Yet the first years showed many signs of great possibilities.

Brock built on the strong foundation laid down by Ford. By the end of the first year of its existence the college had issued its first diploma and had demonstrated its proficiency in academic instruction. Many of the goals which had been set had already been achieved.

From all accounts, Brock was admirably suited for his position as the head of the college. As the Principal of Sandy's Secondary

¹Bermuda Sun, 23 February 1974, p. 4; College Calendar, 1975-76.

²Ibid.; 1975-76; 1976-77; 1977-78; 1978-79; 1980-81.

School, Brock had proved in his former role that he was an able educational administrator who was greatly admired and respected. The esteem in which he was held during his tenure as Principal was shown by the reluctance of the school to lose him to the college. Brock was judicious, innovative, persevering, and hard working. He made an impressive figure as the head of the College. But perhaps his most enduring trait was his sympathetic regard for others, a trait which proved an asset to his administration during the birth pains of the College. This regard was evident whether he was dealing with administrators, with faculty, staff, or students, or the general public. He proved to be a conscientious administrator, a man of principle who was firm yet sensitive to the needs of others despite the many frustrating moments that are inevitable in such a novel project. He may not be included in the halls of fame as the greatest educator of times, but there was none better fitted, either by experience or by personal ideals, for the post.¹ He had done a commendable job by the end of the first year of the college. He had set the college on its course and felt a measure of satisfaction in his accomplishments.

The Continuum: Hallett's Administration

Brock who was always ready to accept challenges for wider service accepted the administrative post as the Permanent Secretary for Education in 1977.² Two formidable tasks now faced the Board of

¹Interview with Cook and with Stanley Ratteray, Hamilton, Bermuda, 6 January 1983.

²Interview with Brock.

Directors. The first one was to keep the college functioning effectively; the second, and probably more difficult task, was to find a suitable replacement--someone acceptable to the concept of Bermudianization who would seek to achieve continuity in the program. This was considered vital for the successful operation of a neophyte program.¹ The advertisements for the post attracted many applicants; however, the Board selected a Bermudian of varied educational administrative experiences at several levels. Hollis Hallett had proved his capabilities as a scholar. He attended Saltus Grammar School, from which he had graduated with distinction. During World War II he went to Canada where he attended the University of Toronto and gained a Master's degree in Physics. Later, he studied in England and earned a doctoral degree. He returned to Canada in 1951 and soon accepted the post of lecturer at his alma mater; later he became a full professor. During this time he became interested in administration due to the many opportunities he had to be exposed to the various aspects of the administrative field. He was appointed Associate Dean of Arts and Sciences and then later Principal of University College, the oldest college in the university. He held the post for seven years. It was during his tenure in this capacity that he was urged to return home and to devote his services to the challenge of providing adequate preparation for the local population in a local environment. His interests extended not only to those students at the College but also in a special way to those individuals who were currently employed and who needed to re-train or upgrade their skills. He infused life into the

¹Ibid., p. 21.

existing program of adult education and with the able assistance of Michael Brooke, the Director of the Extension, succeeded in designing a viable model which attracted a large segment of the working force of Bermuda. In a few years the enrollment in this area of education climbed to 2,000, approximately 12 to 15 percent of the work force--an enviable record when compared with those of Canada and the USA.¹

Report of Progress

The Department of Academic Studies

Initially the curriculum of the Department of Academic Studies was designed to accommodate more readily the educational needs of the majority of Bermudian students continuing studies in Canadian and US universities with a definite bias toward the General Certificate of Education at Advanced Level in an effort to satisfy the requirements for admission to the first year of a British university course or to a further stage of a four-year course at a North American institution. The freshman year was an intensive one-year program, one specifically structured to provide a solid academic foundation. It was "designed to be the equivalent of the first year of four-year American and Canadian colleges and universities." It included courses in: English language and literature, in social science, modern languages, mathematics, computer science, pure science, art, and the humanities. The admission requirements to this program were the obtaining of upper level passes in at least five relevant subjects of the General

¹Interview with A. C. Hollis Hallett, Bermuda College, Prospect, Devonshire, 2 September 1982; interview with Michael Brooke, Bermuda College, Prospect, Devonshire, 18 August 1982.

Certificate of Education as Ordinary Level.¹

By the beginning of the second year of the integration of the three institutions, 1976-1977, some marked changes were evident, both in the efforts to consolidate and to employ innovative practices. The college time table was further refined "to correspond more closely to the community college model, and to extend even further the practice of mutual servicing and support by each of the three constituent departments."²

Under the leadership of its ingenious head, G. L. Cook, a great deal of progress was made toward recognition of the Department of Academic Studies by institutions of higher education abroad.

Cook had always been an advocate of academic excellence. This advocacy led him to pursue the possibility of accreditation from a North American accrediting association. Brock had initiated the search. Cook continued to explore the possibilities. There was a great deal of discussion on the matter. The accrediting bodies were sympathetic but were not inclined to modify their policies to accommodate Bermuda. Accreditation with such associations was virtually impossible.

Both Brock and Cook were determined to find a viable alternative for providing credibility and prestige for the new college. Brock's resignation at the end of the first year of operation left Cook to play a major role in resolving the problem. If accreditation could not be achieved per se, then the College would seek direct affiliation with prestigious colleges and universities abroad. Communication was

¹Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1976-77, p. 16.

²Interviews with Brock, Cook, and Hallett.

initiated with McGill University in Montreal, Canada; Cornell and Princeton Universities in the USA, several institutions of higher learning in England, particularly in politechnics, and at least some universities in Scotland. Each of them was favorably impressed and showed its willingness to affiliate with the college after carefully studying the curriculum. They went even further and declared their willingness to attract graduates of Bermuda College. Such dialogue resulted in the policy most of these institutions adopted, that the successful completion of the two-year program at Bermuda College made the students eligible for admission at "different levels and in a variety of programs at universities and colleges in the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States and elsewhere."

The majority of the college graduates have pursued further education with gratifying results. Indeed, their overall performance has been so commendable that the program has gained credibility in the above-mentioned countries and in others. Graduates of the college are eagerly sought and are in great demand in various institutions of learning--including some of the most prestigious ones. The excellent academic achievement of the graduates has brought great credit to the institution despite its failure to gain admission to the American accrediting associations.¹

Adult and International Programs

The same kind of quality performance is also noted in the adult-education program. Though most of the provisions for adults to obtain university credit for knowledge wherever learned or to upgrade

¹Ibid.

their academic skills and accomplishments have been phased out of the Academic course during the developmental process, to enhance the status of the academic program. Provisions along these lines are made available through the adult education programs.¹

Through its Rotary International Youth Exchange Programme, the Department of Academic Studies provides an "Unequalled learning experience." These opportunities for positive exchange of ideas and observation of different cultures foster human understanding and good will and provide a meaningful and unique experience. They also enhance personal growth and change one's outlook on life. Several Bermuda youth have had the privilege of living with families in other lands; some have had the opportunity to live with and accommodate youth from such countries as Australia, Holland, and Japan.² This has fostered a spirit of international good will and resulted in permanent friendships and ties.

The Department of Commerce and Technology

The new designation for the commercial section of the Bermuda Technical Institute, when it became a department of the Bermuda College, was the Department of Commerce and Technology. As the department slowly changed its function, industrialists began to see that the new department could provide the skilled managerial labor that was needed. Because of its greater emphasis on science in industrial processes, the department was perceived as having a more

¹Ibid.; interview with Michael Brooke, Bermuda College, Prospect, Devonshire, 14 August 1982.

²Interview with Cook.

social function since its goal was to supply trained, local human-resource personnel for the labor force of various occupations.¹

The curriculum was restructured with advice from local business to make more rigorous demands on the students' efforts and to adopt stricter policies for periodic and terminal evaluation. The City and Guilds Examination, an external examination set in England, was adopted as the main instrument for terminal evaluative criteria. The City and Guilds Examinations were supplemented by a system of local examinations jointly organized by the Board, the College, and professional and business associations. Thus the link between industry and technical education was strengthened as businessmen sat on various relevant committees, acted in advisory capacities, and donated equipment to the college.²

The small size of the college classes allowed for individual attention and for designing a program which would provide "as much continuous assessment of the student's performance as possible, rather than relying on final examinations alone."³ The department now offers an impressive number of diversified courses in its Commerce and Technology divisions.

The Department of Commerce and Technology defines its major function as "the preparation of students for employment in industry and commerce." The program for full-time students covers a wide and diversified range; from "the preparatory stages of the program to

¹Interview with Guishard.

²Ibid.; Commerce Report, February 1974, p. 23; May 1975, p. 9.

³Bermuda College Calendar, 1978-79, p. 4.

the advanced stages culminating in the obtaining of the Diploma of Accounting and Executive Secretarial Certificate course and a Certificate program in Business Administration."¹

The technical courses provide a wide range of opportunities for developing occupational skills including motor mechanics, electrical and associated electronic skills, and the allied trades in local construction.

"Additionally there is a thriving Art Department and a creative Dress and Design Department where work is both cultural and vocational." A certificate in music is also available. The music program is designed to provide a sound practical and theoretical knowledge of and skills in commercial music. Graduates are prepared for work in Bermuda or abroad as instrumentalists, orchestra leaders, composers, or personnel managers in the commercial field of entertainment in hotels, radio, recording or T.V. studios, night clubs, supper clubs, or for study abroad.²

As in all other departments of the College, the main objective is to improve the quality of the offerings. The diploma programs are demanding and five passes at College entry level are required for qualifying for the degree. Students with fewer than five passes may be admitted to Certificate Programs. The Diplomas in Accounting and in Business Studies are designed to lay the foundation for entry into the training programs of specific professional associations.³

¹Bermuda College Calendar, 1976-77, p. 3.

²Ibid.; 1980-81, p. 32.

³Bermuda College Calendar, 1980-81, p. 27.

"The progressive changes accomplished in the educational provisions have been supported by the introduction of psychological, research, guidance, and counseling services, the establishment of libraries and resource centers."¹ This enhances the opportunities for Bermudians to receive quality higher education at home.

The Department of Hotel Technology

The Department of Hotel Technology also reported a commendable growth record since it became a department of the Bermuda College in 1974. Jack Greenlees, the principal of the hotel school at the time of the transition, and his successor, Martin Barnes, made many changes in the physical amenities and the curriculum.² It was Neil Hansford-Smith, however, who revolutionized the department and set in on a progressive course. During Hansford-Smith's ten-year term as head of the Department from 1964 to 1974, the public interest in the college increased, and the enrollment rose significantly so that there was need for providing larger facilities.

Under Hansford-Smith's administration, the college also won the distinction of being the only educational institution outside the United Kingdom to be recognized by the Hotel and Motel Association of America and the Hotel Catering and Institutional Management Association of Great Britain.³

The Department of Hotel Technology also "offers three

¹Interview with Hallett.

²Bermuda, Department of Education, Prospectus of the Bermuda Hotel and Catering College (Prospect, Bermuda: Bermuda College).

³Donald Leavy, "The History of Bermuda's Hotel and Catering Education," The Young Hotelier 1 (Spring 1976):4.

programmes in order to prepare students for employment in the Bermuda Hotel and Catering Industry."¹ The high levels of performance demanded from students of this department has given it a positively altered image. The tendency to assume that technical education performs a residual function, picking up the tasks that other sections of the educational system were unable or unwilling to do, is rapidly being changed. The new type of educational institution which was designed as an integral and equally contributing part of the college, has now achieved full recognition.²

Stonington facilities

It was during the first year of college operations that the need to provide more spacious facilities for the department and to create a college environment became more acute. The Department of Hotel Technology was experiencing growth and general acceptance in the community despite the inadequate facilities provided. Some legislative action was needed to facilitate its growth and operations. The basic question was, What site should be chosen for the hotel curriculum? A related question was, What would be the "best" site for a centralized area for all departments? It was evident that expansion could not be carried out on the existing premises. In February 1974, the matter was presented to the Cabinet by the Minister for Education, Gloria McPhee. A Cabinet Sub-Committee was formed to consider the proposals of the Minister. After consulting with the Ministry, the Board of Governors, and the Hotel Association, the Minister submitted proposals

¹Ibid., p. 13.

²Interview with Guishard.



STONINGTON BEACH HOTEL

to the sub-committee. One of the main recommendations was that a centralized body should be set up to coordinate and facilitate the educational programs of the three departments of the college. This would enhance its utility and its ability to meet the many demands being put on it by the developments in society. The specifics included the economics of a unified campus to eliminate duplication of many facilities.¹ The legislators accepted the recommendations of the sub-committee and administrative action soon followed. The recommendations quickly became the center of a political and social battle. In seeking for the "ideal" site, the Committee decided that land already owned by the Government would be the most feasible--at least in terms of economics. The northern slopes of the Government House land was the first choice; the facilities at the Admiralty House were recommended as a viable alternative. This decision aroused intense social and political feeling throughout the island. Petitions protesting the recommendations were circulated and later submitted to the legislature. Delays and arguments for and against the proposed sites even within the ranks of the ruling party created further obstructions. Proposals were submitted by hotels recommending their individual properties as a potential site. These hotel sites proved inadequate or unacceptable either in terms of cost effectiveness or location. The debates in Parliament were long, impassioned, and often unproductive. Political and social pressure was so intense that the proposal was temporarily tabled.²

¹Bermuda Sun, 26 July, 12 August, 15 November 1975; McPhee, "Recollections," p. 1; Royal Gazette, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12 August 1975.

²Ibid.

However, the Board recognized the urgency of providing adequate college facilities and determined to pursue the plan. A great deal of time, effort, and emotional energy was invested in looking at sites. Eventually one site seemed the most favorable--the Stonington Estate. In November 1975, the Chairman of the Board, the Minister for Education, and others met with the real estate agent and viewed the site. The immediate reaction was favorable; the site was ideal for such a facility. It provided commanding views of the ocean and its twenty acres could accommodate the three departments on the same site. A collegiate setting would be provided and this would enhance the status of the college. Consensus was reached by the sub-committee: "The Stonington property is a suitable site for the Department of Hotel Technology, inclusive of a training unit, and at a later stage for the entire Bermuda College Complex." Government obtained an option on the property in April 1976, but the matter was given no further consideration for a while.

The initial estimated cost of the undertaking was estimated at approximately \$3.5 million (BDA). The Legislature voted the expenditure and the project got underway. The new Minister for Education, Ernest Vesey, accepted the responsibility with enthusiasm. Work on the first phase of buildings soon began. In October 1980, five years after the initial visit to the site and two years after the purchase was finalized, the Department of Hotel Technology opened in its new spacious, commodious, and ultra-modern facilities at Stonington. Now curriculum could provide adequate preparation in practical and academic skills which conform to the highest local standards for hotel resorts.

The main attractiveness of the Department of Hotel Technology



STONINGTON BEACH HOTEL

is its \$9 million (the figure almost trebled in four years) Stonington Beach Hotel. This ultra-modern hotel was provided for the dual purpose of entertaining guests and for creating on-site training for students at the Department of Hotel Technology of the Bermuda College.

The new hotel facilities provide sixty-four guest rooms and suites "built in two-storey mood" and can accommodate up to 150 guests. The classrooms can accommodate up to 200 students. There are two large training kitchens, a demonstration dining room and bar, a cafeteria, and lecture rooms.

The facilities at Stonington were designed to provide trained craftsmen for Bermuda's "hospitality industry." The curriculum design is based on "proven culinary operations and techniques. . . . The major instructional emphasis is on full day-to-day production in the various areas of the hotel."¹

The next phases of construction are to be completed in the near future. These will accommodate the other departments--Academic Studies, Commerce and Technology, Guidance, the Library, and other auxiliary facilities. Study is being given to providing facilities which can be available to the public.²

Issues

The concept of a college in Bermuda had received positive acceptance from the educational and political leaders as well as from a large segment of the community. The question was no longer, Should

¹Royal Gazette, 22 October 1980; Fred Ming, "Bermuda College, Department of Hotel Technology: The Past and Present," manuscript, Bermuda, n.d., Private Papers.

²Interview with Hallett; McPhee, "Recollections," pp. 2-3.

we? but how? Such concerns invariably revolved around issues as individuals showed preferences that emerged from their experiences, ideals, and values.

A plethora of suggestions and models were presented. In a plurastic society with different value systems, this created conflict and areas of potential disagreement. The traditionalists tended to favor the typical British type of education with little modification. They advocated the conventional classroom and curriculum, and emphasized the importance of continuing the use of external British examinations, especially the General Certificate of Education at the advanced level, the GCE "A" level. Those with more liberal views favored an institution that would conform to contemporary societal values and expectations; that would make the educational experience meaningful and relevant; an institution that would promote individual initiative, competence, and creativity, and a greater sense of national awareness. They sought to design an institution that would give Bermudians a chance to obtain occupational competence in all phases of business and industry in Bermuda. They advocated a facility and curriculum that would facilitate human engineering in some form. There were those individuals whose views ranged along the continuum of these two polarized concepts.

As the issue intensified, there seemed little hope for reconciliation and compromise between the two dominant groups. The liberals saw that the proposed change could not be easily diffused among the traditionalists even though it included features that were compatible with traditional values. The traditionalists could not perceive the relative advantage of the new concept as compared to existing ideas.

They perceived its complexities, the adjustments that it would require, and, since it seemed to strike at their traditional values and codes of behavior, saw only substantial barriers to its acceptance.

Yet to most individuals, education in Bermuda had become anachronistic; there was need for reconstruction in the higher levels of education and many tended to advocate the liberal view. The educational reformers with liberal views were prepared to take advantage of this organizational crisis. They presented new structures that promised to relieve the uncertainty and anxiety generated by the crisis and were successful in gaining acceptance of their model by the legislators and educational administrators.

The siting of the college campus was another matter that became a serious and strenuous issue that bifurcated the Bermudian community. This issue also became a political one. On one side was the government who supported one view and the majority of the community who generally opposed that view. Initially in the light of economic concerns (the government stated), several government sites that showed prospects of adaptation with minimum expense were selected, and a decision made on one or two options. The announcement of this decision caused a public outcry. Voluminous mass media publicity and hours of debate and controversy resulted. The severe emotional stresses and strains that the controversy engendered tended to make a serious rift in society and the suggestions were abandoned.

There was now convincing evidence that an unpopular decision could create a situation that was dysfunctional for society, and government pursued a more cautious approach. Government gave more opportunity for proposals and suggestions for sites. Each was evaluated

according to its merits and accepted or rejected. The ultimate decision received input and feedback from a greater cross-section of the community.¹ The site eventually selected was rejected by the Hotel Association who viewed its proposed use as a hotel as a threat to its industry. The selected site emerged popular in the long run, and the first phase of the Stonington campus was completed in 1980.

At present both sides seem to be nearing rapprochement or at least understanding and as time passes, the deep divisive nature of the issue shows signs of healing. This trend should foster a climate in which the college can develop into a strong and vibrant institution devoted to bringing about meaningful educational change through consensual modes of thinking.

Summary

This chapter has presented the events during the growth years of the Bermuda College, from the formulation of the concept of the Bermuda College and its incorporation by the Bermuda College Act of 1974 to the completion of the first phase of the Stonington Campus in 1980. The Act provided for an educational institution of higher learning primarily designed to assist Bermudians in obtaining full and part-time training in various areas of academic, technical, and vocational skills. These provisions illustrated the accelerated pace of educational change and of interest in higher education. It also shows how the divergent beliefs, opinions, and views about the college produced tensions in

¹Bermuda, Parliament, White Paper on the Hotel College Project (Bermuda: Parliament, 1975); idem, Throne Speech (Bermuda: Parliament, 1975); Bermuda Sun, 26 July, 9, 11, 15 August 1975; Royal Gazette, 19, 21, 22, 25 July, 15, 20 November 1975.

the suprasystem and created issues. The overall effect of the establishment of the college, however, was positive.

The opening of the college also created opportunities for adults to enhance their skills. Adults began to realize more fully that education for each individual should progress along a continuum with the choice of experiences and the rate of progress dependent on the student's needs, interests, and abilities; along functional lines rather than traditional ones.

The success of the college depended not merely on making minimal adjustments to existing programs of studies but on finding better and more effective ways of providing instruction in specialized subjects which would lead to skilled employment. Government budgeted adequate funds for ensuring that no eligible student would be deprived of an education at the college because of financial reasons. There was a conflicting mixture of optimism and pessimism during this stage of the college. However, futuristic thinking and planning opened new horizons as the desire to provide guidance for personal growth and more positive inter-personal relationships and educational excellence increased. Greater effort is now being concentrated on achieving a better understanding of contemporary and future educational trends with a view to designing appropriate courses. The prognosis indicates a great future for the college as it approaches the next five years of its existence.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS

Summary

This study has discussed the development of higher education from 1626 to 1980. The preface of the study stated that the purpose of the study was to present a comprehensive account of that development. It was also stated that in tracing that development, the author would seek to discover whether there were any characteristics in the developmental pattern that justified the central thesis. This thesis was that the development of higher education was a discontinuous but persistent struggle. It was also stated that four cases would be presented in evidence: (1) Copeland's efforts in 1626, (2) Berkeley's attempt around 1725, (3) Dowding's project of the 1850s, and (4) the latest efforts around 1975. This approach was adopted since it was felt that it was probably the best method of establishing discontinuity and persistence.

The study consisted of eight chapters. The first chapter provided a survey of the contextual setting for the discovery of Bermuda and of the major events occurring in the colony during the period 1609-1700. Chapter 2 provided answers to the questions on the origin, nature, and extent of the endowment that English colonists received from England. It also showed how the legacy was appropriated during the formative period of the seventeenth century. The chapter described

Copeland's efforts to assist the colonists in appropriating their legacy and at the same time to provide opportunities for converting the Indians to Christianity through education. It also discussed some of the major issues that developed as a result of Copeland's proposal, and showed how these issues which were primarily of a complex religious, political, and social nature combined with the negative attitude of the leaders of church and state contributed to the failure of the project. Copeland's plan to establish a college never materialized. He did start a free school but that was a compromise measure and that, too, was unsuccessful. The school was closed after a brief period of operation. The institution remained inoperative; consequently, no future project could evolve from or become an extension of Copeland's project. The chapter also showed that Copeland encountered many difficulties, yet he persisted in seeking to implement his plan.

Chapter 3 presented the social and economic orientations of eighteenth-century Bermuda--the milieu in which Berkeley made an effort to establish an institution of higher learning in Bermuda. The data provided no continuity between Berkeley's plan and that of Copeland's, approximately one hundred years earlier. Evidence was provided, however, to substantiate the concept of persistence. The attributes of persistence may be seen in Berkeley's continuing efforts to seek (1) parliamentary approval despite a resistant group of businessmen in Parliament. (2) Persistence may also be traced to continued efforts to implement the plan despite Walpole, the Prime Minister's duplicity. (3) The element of persistence can be traced in Berkeley's leaving England and traveling to America to finalize plans even in spite of discouragement from friends and patrons. (4) Persistence is

evident in Berkeley's seeking to maintain a continuing interest in formulating an educational plan for the New World after his abortive effort.

It can be concluded that there was no continuity between Copeland's project and that of Berkeley. It can also be concluded that Berkeley's project had an element of persistence specifically in his efforts to establish St. Paul's College and in the overall general plan for higher education in the New World.

The discussion of Dowding's project in chapter 4 indicated that there was no continuity between his project and the previous one. It is true that Dowding conceived his project as the revival of Berkeley's; however, there was no continuity in both projects. As far as can be established, Dowding did not receive the charter, the seal, nor the funds of Berkeley's project. He did not build on nor expand Berkeley's St. Paul's College, for it never materialized; nor were there any features that indicated continuity. The element of persistence, however, can be substantiated by Dowding's facing up to the racial issue and persisting in establishing an institution. The institution he established was not founded according to his original grandiose plan; however, when one realizes the opposition he experienced, one recognizes that it took a persistent, hardy effort to accomplish even the task of founding a school.

Chapter 5 discussed the social antecedents of the new educational philosophies of the twentieth century. This discussion provided insights into the increasing awareness and recognition of the concept of higher education as a social responsibility. Chapter 6 portrayed the political, economic, and social milieu of the period 1965-1975. It

also presented a description of the three tertiary institutions which formed the nucleus of Bermuda College and of the issues which surfaced.

Chapter 7 presented the fourth case used to substantiate the thesis. The chapter explored the growth and development of Bermuda College. It provided the details of the issues and the struggles encountered in establishing Bermuda College. The data indicated no continuity between Dowding's St. Paul's College and Bermuda College established in 1975. There were, however, some aspects of the development of the college that indicated persistence. 1) Persistence especially of blacks in demanding equal educational opportunities until the demands were met; (2) the persistence of the government and educational leaders to provide a local college despite a great deal of resistance from those who advocated the maintenance of the status quo; (3) persistence in implementing a liberal form of education especially designed to meet the needs of a more sophisticated local business community; and (4) persistent effort in the locating of the college to obtain an ideal site while concurrently creating a minimum of social conflict.

The third characteristic, the premise that the existing college has a sophisticated system, may be upheld by the evidence presented in chapter 7. The outstanding features are the co-existence of a sophisticated program of studies particularly in the Department of Academic Studies that leads concurrently to the classic college course, the general course, and a diploma in arts and sciences. These courses permit a degree of specialization and sophistication thus ensuring that the student has the opportunity to pursue a liberal education that is intellectually and economically desirable.

The upgrading of the content of the curriculum in the Depart-

ment of Commerce and Technology and the Department of Hotel Technology has provided a measure of sophistication. The inclusion in their offerings of programs of a more professional character--commerce, finance, secretarial practice, computer skills, business law, tourism--to name a few have given the courses a more academic character. The ultra-modern and sophisticated facilities of the Department of Hotel Technology are visible evidence of the sophistication of the physical facilities. The present facilities at Stonington, Paget, which are Phase I of the Stonington Campus, are convincing proof that the other phases will be no less sophisticated.

Conclusions

The development of higher education in Bermuda was not marked by a sense of continuity as in most other countries; nor did the Bermuda College, established in 1975, come about in an evolutionary way. Rather its development typified a sense of dedication and determination to provide higher education in Bermuda. The total developmental pattern throughout the centuries was characterized by a series of struggles and disappointments. Though very few of the earlier efforts succeeded and though those that did never survived long enough to make any lasting impression, they characterized a persistent struggle by the advocates to achieve their goal.

It seems safe to conclude that the evidence presented in the body of the study substantiated the thesis that the development of higher education was a discontinuous, persistent struggle culminating into the sophisticated system of the Bermuda College established in 1975.

The establishment of a modern, relevant, and productive system of higher education in Bermuda has not been easy, nor can it be considered complete. Several problems remain and the acknowledgment of their existence should in no way diminish the accomplishments of the past. Their solution will require diligent and constant scientific examination of the curriculum of the college in an endeavor to achieve and maintain greater credibility both at the local and international levels.

Implications

The interactive effects of the reciprocal relationship between society and education have been acknowledged throughout history. Society has also had a strong belief in the potential of educational institutions to correct social ills and to ensure that the individual members--particularly the youngest--will learn the group behavior and cultural patterns considered essential for satisfactory adjustment and self-fulfillment within society.¹

Copeland's project to provide higher education for the sons of the planters and of the "savage" Indians was designed for this purpose, yet Copeland was futuristic in outlook and endeavored to provide the kind of learnings and understandings that were considered necessary for social and religious adjustment. He desired to initiate a program to ensure that the church was the major source of doctrinal as well as secular education; a program designed to avert the tide of secularistic tendencies that was becoming apparent.

Almost one hundred years later, Berkeley's activities and

¹Reitman, p. 25.

interests revealed that he, too, had a futuristic outlook. As Berkeley stated, he desired "to use all [his] little credit towards helping forward men of worth in this world."¹ His St. Paul's College was designed to provide "pastors of good morals and good learning as they (God knows!) are much wanted."²

Both Copeland and Berkeley had concluded that their society had become corrupt and they sought to counteract these evil societal influences through higher education. Both believed that it was necessary to leave the decadent English society--in which they would promote a pure church and a new social order to serve as "a reservoir of learning and religion." They would initiate social change through learning. Berkeley's curricular design included logic, rhetoric, sacred and profane history, and divinity. These offerings were designed to meet societal needs and "to foster more positive attitudes towards Anglicanism."³ Though Dowding perceived his mission in more secularistic terms than Copeland or Berkeley, all three recognized the need to seek to facilitate social change, to anticipate the future and to plan for it.

Indeed, the need for futuristic planning seemed as urgent then as it does today in the 1980s. This need has remained relatively constant despite the vast range of human involvement, ideologies, institutions, and technologies that have been involved. Problems related to information and decision making, for example, have existed in some

¹Luce, Life, p. 65.

²Letter dated 16 December 1722, in Luce, Life, p. xxiv.

³Letter dated 27 December 1724, in Luce, Life, p. xxii.

form for virtually every major effort to promote higher education in Bermuda. There are many commonalities in the educational concerns and problems of each age. Certain aspects of late twentieth-century developments at the local and interational levels, however, have given these challenges for futuristic planning a new imperative; a new urgency. Chapters 5-7 indicated many of the social changes that took place in Bermuda beginning around the 1940s and accelerating after 1963. These chapters also revealed that the new social patterns had clear indications and implications for a new directional pattern in education. The scope and intensity of political and social change in the 1980s will demand that educational leaders view the changes with a completely altered outlook, yet they need to respond as their predecessors of the previous centuries did with determination and dedication to seek to influence social change and trends positively. These leaders need to become increasingly aware that effective educational leadership demands the ability to anticipate the future and plan for it.¹

Commenting on the late twentieth-century developments and trends, John Naisbitt, in his latest work Megatrends, suggests ten areas of megatrends or big changes which are occurring at the local, national, and international levels and which are transforming our society and our lives significantly. These megatrends include: a global economy edging [US] national economies; a north to south population shift in the USA; a move from an industrial to an information-based society that promises major changes for basic industries, growth areas,

¹Marvin Harris, America Now: The Anthropology of a Changing Culture (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981), pp. 45-46.

and trade. The impact of these trends will affect our daily living, work, and politics, too.¹

The impact of these big trends is also felt in Bermuda. The Bermuda society will also demand fundamentally different kinds of learnings suitable for coping with the increasing functional and dysfunctional social conditions associated with these changes. Educational leaders must perceive that with global, social, political turmoil so evident, with escalating scarcity of quality human and material resources, one of the greatest challenges of education is to make a positive contribution to world order. The opportunity to achieve this task may have greater significance in the closing decades of the twentieth century than in any other time in history. The major task ahead for educational leaders is for them to envision and shape educational futures that offer courageous responses to emergent social needs in the complexities of the current social conditions. The task is to plan educational learnings that will assist in coping with the following:²

(1) the threat to social unity and stability, including the major shifts in power associated with the control of scarce resources between the traditional Western world and the emerging Third World powers.

(2) social fragmentation. This condition is evident in the increases in single-parent families, professional women, divorce, teen-age pregnancies, and changes in child-rearing practices.

(3) conflicts over extensive pluralism as seen in new lifestyles,

¹John Naisbitt, Megatrends: Ten New Directions Transforming Our Lives (New York: Warner Books, 1982), passim.

²Richard J. Bates, "Educational Critique: The New Sociology of Education," Journal of Education 163 (Fall 1981):306-319.

family patterns, sexuality, educational goals, and over whose views should prevail.

(4) pressure to develop a new state of normalcy that would accommodate wider ranges of social behavior, in both school (curricular) and extra-curricular activities.

(5) declining numbers of students and high birthrates among other racial and ethnic groups than among whites.

(6) pressures to adapt more rapidly to the new technologies.

(7) pressures for education to respond with equity in the process and outcomes to diverse social conditions, such as economic and physical disadvantages, psychological and emotional concerns which result in widely different learning needs of clients.¹

Educational leaders may be confounded by these social forces and by their own lack of leadership skills as they seek to implement futures planning. However, effective educational planning and responses are essential. They require familiarity with these existing conditions and how they interface. These leaders should also be aware of how these conditions are likely to affect the educational process.

Equipped with such knowledge, educational leaders should respond to these social needs with up-to-date programs and practices. At the college level, these leaders should respond to the dual task of redefining education and overseeing the transition from the old to the new. If education involves preparing students, equipping them with competencies and skills to cope successfully with a society vastly

¹C. A. Bowers, "Curriculum as Cultural Reproduction." Teachers College Record 82 (Winter 1980):267-290.

different from that of their parents' childhood, then there is need for Bermuda College to concentrate on diffusing new knowledge, learnings, and understandings. The curricular model for such programs should include at least four new learnings:

(1) New skills in human relations. Students need to learn to cope effectively with transient relationships; to establish good relationships easily and quickly and to be prepared to terminate those relationships, just as quickly. As Bermuda continues to be a tourist resort, a haven for off-shore companies, and to experience an increase in legal and illegal immigrants, the need becomes even more acute. Further, as Bermudians become increasingly interested in world travel, there is need for students to develop competencies and skills to relate to individuals of diverse cultural backgrounds in a caring, accepting manner. New capabilities for effective human relationships are educational priorities of the emergent age. Programs (e.g., creative dramatics, simulation) must be designed to give students an awareness of the global nature of knowledge, for example, courses in non-western studies, international business, and more and varied opportunities for students, alumni, and faculty to travel overseas, and peace studies.

(2) New ideas, values, and problems. A related educational emerging need is the ability to tolerate and perhaps integrate novel ideas and different values that are part of a pluralistic culture. Students at Bermuda College need to learn "to cope with the great diversity of new and increased personal and interpersonal problems in an age of instability."¹ They need to learn to cope with social

¹Reitman, p. 112.

fragmentation, with use and abuse of controlled drugs, with sources of criminal and racial violence, with personal alienation from the political process, and from governance. "Future shock" will continue to affect us and students need to learn how to deal with the multiplicity of personal and social stresses and strains that affect us all and to develop inner controls.

(3) The humane uses of technologies. Modern technologies including computers have transformed society. Linda Winkle suggested that "as the Industrial Revolution augmented the muscle power of humankind, the Computer Revolution increased the mind power of humankind."¹ The computerized age will pervade our lives in ways we are not yet capable of imagining. It is predicted that microelectronics could well be the fuel for the information society of the 21st century. Naisbitt also shares this viewpoint.²

Educational leaders need to consider how to design effective ways and approaches to meet the divergent individual needs and varying experiences and expectations in interacting with micro-computers. Computer literacy must be provided since as Naisbitt predicted micro--electronic technology will have a pervasive and long-lasting influence on patterns of life-styles including careers. Jobs and careers not even dreamed of will be open by tomorrow and many current traditional careers obsoleted. Many experts predict that one of the areas of greatest impact of this revolution will be the proliferation of the

¹Linda Wyrick Winkle, "Computer Equity Comes of Age," Phi Delta Kappan 63 (January 1982):314.

²Ibid.

"electronic office," a place traditionally run by women.¹ An awareness of emerging careers in and expanding use of micro-computers is essential and educational leaders need to facilitate the change by raising students' consciousness of career options and furnishing role models of students especially women successfully pursuing computer related careers. Bermuda society with its business orientation and its dependence on off-shore companies needs especially to accept the challenge of assisting students in acquiring micro-computer skills that will help to achieve personal, educational, and societal goals.

(4) Ability to adopt personal life-styles. This requires skills in finding personal fulfillment in an uncertain cultural environment; one in which traditional institutional structures are no longer clearly defined. Students need to learn to occupy leisure time wisely to cope with loneliness and grief; to find creative ways to use their time and energy. They need to learn to create positive consequences out of secondary relationships.

Educational leaders need to be aware of, accept and cooperate with effective movements to alter traditional concepts of the role of school. They need to recognize that in an age of retrenchment schools hard pressed for funds will depend to a greater degree on non-school agencies to facilitate learning especially in areas where educational institutions have had to curtail their expenses and their offerings.

In the past, the educational leaders actively sought to implement change and to provide the learnings they considered of most worth. The response of educational leaders of the late twentieth century to

¹Ibid., p. 315.

challenges will guide or force the evolution of the new educational directives. These leaders need to formulate strategies and policies which will recognize the complexities of society and lead to positive influences. The challenge to provide coping skills is formidable but it is filled with opportunity. Critical choices must be made; however, higher education must act in its capacity as a force in society directing educational progress towards satisfying ends. It must move into the new age with a view to preserving what is valued from the past, while preparing students to live productively under exciting and dramatically new social conditions.

The curricular content of Bermuda College shows many positive signs that it has been designed with a futuristic perspective. If this direction can be maintained and applied to the further tasks of refinement and redefinition, there is little doubt that the result will be a commendable system of higher education in Bermuda designed to fulfill personal and social needs of the new era.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study has presented many aspects of higher education in Bermuda. However, it is by no means exhaustive. Several areas both within and without the scope of the study may be productive fields for future research. These include:

1. The development in Bermuda of higher education for women.
2. The development of educational for blacks.
3. Designing a model for more positive interaction between the college and the community.

4. A comparative study to show the uniqueness of the educational model of Bermuda College.

5. The development and expansion of the college offerings.

6. A study on the affiliation of Bermuda with colleges abroad.

7. Designing a curriculum to include the new learnings demanded in the late twentieth century.

It is hoped that students in education will accept the challenge and undertake research projects in these areas and provide those entrusted with the challenge of guiding the college activities with scientific data for decision making.

APPENDIXES

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APPENDIX A

Names of the Original Adventurers in Bermuda

Taken from John Smith, Generall Historie
of Virginia, New England, and the Summer
Isles . . . from Their First Beginning Anno
1584 to this Present 1624 (London: Michael
Sparkes, 1624), vol. 1.

188

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The names of the Adventurers, and their shares in
every Tribe, according to the survey, and the best information
yet ascertained, of any of their alterations.

Hamiltons Tribe.		Shares.		Shares.	
	Share.				
<i>James L. Marquis Hamil.</i>	6	<i>Robert Earle of Warwick.</i>	2	<i>M. Rich. Wiseman</i>	1
<i>Sir Edward Harwood.</i>	4	<i>M. Francis West.</i>	2	<i>Will. Lord Pagis.</i>	10
<i>M. John Delbridge.</i>	3	<i>Will. Lord Cavendish.</i>	5	<i>M. Will. Palmer.</i>	4
<i>M. John Dike.</i>	3	<i>Will. Earle of Denonshire.</i>	5	<i>M. Bagnell.</i>	5
<i>M. Ellis Roberts.</i>	2	<i>M. Edw. Luckin.</i>	5	<i>M. John Bais.</i>	1
<i>M. Robert Phips.</i>	1	<i>M. Edw. Ditchfield.</i>	1	<i>M. Wbeatley.</i>	4
<i>M. Ralph King.</i>	1	<i>M. Edw. Ditchfield.</i>	4	<i>M. Christop. Barron.</i>	4
<i>M. Quicks assignes.</i>	2	<i>M. Will. Nicols.</i>	2	<i>M. John Wodall.</i>	1
<i>M. William Canning.</i>	4	<i>M. Edw. Ditchfield.</i>	1	<i>M. John Wodall.</i>	1
<i>M. William Canning.</i>	1	<i>M. John Fletcher.</i>	2	<i>M. Lewis.</i>	2
<i>M. William Web.</i>	1	<i>M. Gedion Delawne.</i>	2	<i>M. Owen Arthors assignes.</i>	2
<i>M. John Bernards assignes.</i>	2	<i>M. Anth. Pennistone.</i>	3	<i>M. George Escheridge.</i>	4
<i>M. Elias Roberts Inn.</i>	1	<i>M. Best.</i>	2		2
<i>M. John Gearing.</i>	2	<i>M. Edw. Luckin.</i>	2	<i>Sir Will. Wade.</i>	1
<i>M. Cleophas Smith.</i>	2	<i>M. Richard Rogers.</i>	2	<i>M. John Bernards heires.</i>	1
<i>Robert Earle of Warwick.</i>	4	<i>M. Will. Palmer.</i>	4		
<i>M. Thomas Conell.</i>	3			6. Warwicks Tribe.	
<i>M. Greenwells assignes.</i>	1	4. Pembrookes Tribe.		<i>M. Wbeatley.</i>	2
<i>M. Cley.</i>	1	<i>M. George Smith.</i>	4	<i>Cap. Daniel Tucker.</i>	2
<i>M. Poulson.</i>	2	<i>Gleab land.</i>	2	<i>M. Will. Felgate.</i>	1
<i>M. John Dike.</i>	1.	<i>M. Nicholas Hide.</i>	1	<i>Rob. Earle of Warwick.</i>	5
<i>Common land for concuency.</i>	25	<i>Sir Lawrence Hide.</i>	1	<i>M. George Smith.</i>	5
<i>M. John Dike.</i>	1.	<i>M. Thomas Indwyn.</i>	2	<i>M. Sam. Tickner.</i>	2
<i>M. George Thorps assignes.</i>	1	<i>Will. Earle of Pemb.</i>	10	<i>M. Francis Mervell.</i>	1
		<i>M. Richard Edwards.</i>	1	<i>M. Sephen Sparrow.</i>	1
2. Smiths Tribe.		<i>M. Harding.</i>	1	<i>M. Joseph Man.</i>	5
<i>Sir Dudley Digs assignes.</i>	2	<i>M. Rich. Edwards.</i>	1	<i>Cap. Daniel Tucker.</i>	2
<i>M. Richard Edwards.</i>	2	<i>M. Elias Roberts.</i>	1	<i>M. Elias More.</i>	1
<i>M. William Paine.</i>	4	<i>M. Rich. Edwards.</i>	1	<i>Doctor. Anth. Hanton</i>	2
<i>M. Robert Smith.</i>	3	<i>M. Jacobsons assignes.</i>	1	<i>M. Francis Mervell.</i>	1
<i>M. George Barkley assignes.</i>	5	<i>M. John Farrar.</i>	1	<i>M. Rich. Poulson.</i>	1
<i>Sir Samuel Sands.</i>	1	<i>M. Nicholas Farrar.</i>	1	<i>M. Math. Shepherd.</i>	1
<i>M. Anthony Pennistone.</i>	4	<i>M. Nicholas Farrar.</i>	1	<i>M. George Tucker.</i>	10
<i>Sir Edwin Sands.</i>	5	<i>M. Will. Canning.</i>	2	<i>M. Ch. Cliberoe.</i>	1
<i>Sir Thomas Smith.</i>	5	<i>M. Richard Martin.</i>	2	<i>M. George Swinow.</i>	2
<i>M. Richard More.</i>	4	<i>M. Morris Abbot.</i>	2	<i>M. Rich. Tomling.</i>	1
<i>M. Ad. Brunsfield</i>	2	<i>M. Rich. Caswell.</i>	1	<i>M. Francis Mervell.</i>	1
<i>M. Rob. Johnson Alderman.</i>	5	<i>M. Rich. Caswell.</i>	2	<i>M. John Waters.</i>	2
<i>M. John Wroth.</i>	3	<i>M. Will. Caswell.</i>	1	<i>M. Martin Bond.</i>	2
<i>M. George Smith.</i>	4	<i>M. Rich. Edwards.</i>	1		
		<i>M. George Sands assignes.</i>	2	7. Southamptons Tribe.	
3. Denonshire Tribe.		<i>M. Will. Paine.</i>	2	<i>Cap. Dan. Tucker.</i>	4
<i>M. Anth. Pennistone.</i>	2			<i>M. John Britton.</i>	1
<i>M. John Dike.</i>	1	5. Pagits Tribe.		<i>M. Rich. Chamberland.</i>	3
<i>M. John Dike.</i>	1	<i>M. John Chamberlaine.</i>	5	<i>M. Leon. Harwoods assignes.</i>	1
<i>M. John Bernards heires.</i>	2	<i>M. Tho. Ayres, and</i>	4	<i>M. John Banks.</i>	1
		<i>M. Rich. Wiseman.</i>	5	<i>Sir Nathanael Rich.</i>	12
				<i>Rob. Earle of VVarwicke.</i>	3
				<i>M. Rich.</i>	

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189

Shares.		8. Sandys Tribe.	Shares.		
M. Richard More.	6		M. George Smith,	2	
M. George Scot.	6		M. Robert Gore,	3	
M. Edward Scot.			Sir Edw. Sackville.	1	
M. Antbo. Abdy.			Sir John Danvers.	1	
Hen. Earle of Southampton.	4	M. George Barklies beires.	5	M. Robert Gore.	2
M. And. Brommfield.	2	Sir Edwin Sands.	5	M. John Delbridge.	1
M. Henry Timbed.	2	M. Jerom Hidon.	10	M. John VVroth.	1
Sir Tho. Hewes.	2	M. Tho. Millin and }	2	M. John VVests beires.	4
M. Perce.	1	M. John Cuffe.		M. Richard Chamberlaine.	10
Sir Ralph Winwood.	2	M. Robert Chamberlaine.	2		
		M. Abr. Chamberlaine.	1		

APPENDIX B

Statistics Showing the Number of Children in Bermuda Receiving Instruction

APPENDIX B

A RETURN OF THE FREE SCHOOLS IN BERMDA; THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN RECEIVING INSTRUCTION IN EACH, THE EMOLUMENTS OF THE TEACHERS; AND FROM WHAT SOURCE THE EMOLUMENTS ARE DERIVED.
(Presented to the House of Assembly, Monday, 3rd July 1843.)

Parish.	Kind of School.	Superintended by	When Established.	Average Number of Daily Pupils.			Subjects taught.	Legislative Grant to 1st September 1842.	Present Salaries and Emoluments.	From what source derived.
				Male.	Female.	Total.				
St. George's.	White	Rector of Parish.	1838	26	22	48	Reading, Writing, Arithmetic	£ s. d. 16 0 0	£ s. d. 30 0 0	Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
"	Coloured	"	1839	19	19	38	" and Sewing	16 0 0	8 0 0	Ladies' Society of London for Education of Negroes.
St. David's Isle.	Mixed	"	1837	23	20	42	"	16 0 0	16 0 0	Bermuda Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
Tucker's Town.	White	"	1839	4	7	11	"	21 8 0	None.	Ladies' Society of London for Education of Negroes.
Hamilton	White	"	1836	11	6	17	" Arithmetic	7 4 0	16 0 0	Bermuda S.P.C.K.
"	Coloured	"	1838	12	15	27	"	16 0 0	6 0 0	S.P.G.
Smith's	White	"	1836	3	5	8	" and Sewing	18 4 0	8 0 0	Donation from Bermuda S.P.C.K.
"	Coloured	"	1841	21	13	37	"	16 0 0	6 0 0	S.P.G.
Devonshire	White	"	1836	9	8	17	" and Sewing	21 0 0	6 0 0	Bermuda S.P.C.K.
Pembroke	White	Rev. Dr. Tucker	1841	8	8	16	"	4 8 0	None.	"
"	Coloured	Rector of Parish.	1836	40	23	69	"	16 0 0	25 0 0	S.P.G.
"	White	"	1837	19	14	37	" and Sewing	16 0 0	27 0 0	Young Men's Friendly Institution.
"	White	Wesleyan Mission	1834	7	0	7	"	7 4 0	24 0 0	Wesleyan Missionary Society.
"	Coloured	"	1834	36	11	47	"	12 8 0	28 0 0	Bermuda S.P.C.K.
Warwick	Coloured	"	1838	22	16	38	" and Sewing	12 16 0	20 0 0	Friendly Society of Warwick Parish. Contributed by Parents of Pupils.
Southampton	White	"	1841	10	13	23	"	22 12 0	6 0 0	Ladies' Society of London for Education of Negroes.
St. Andrew's	Coloured	"	1836	10	26	36	"	16 0 0	25 0 0	Bermuda S.P.C.K.
"	White	"	1823	15	10	25	"	9 12 0	30 0 0	S.P.G. Bermuda S.P.C.K.

NOTE.—Independently of the above-mentioned Schools, about 800 children and adults are partially instructed in Sunday Schools gratuitously attended in most of the Parishes.

APPENDIX C

Statistics for Government Expenditures on Education, 1901-1960

BERMUDA SCHOOL POPULATION AND EXPENDITURES, 1901-1960

Year	Total Population	Number of Schools		Enrollment		Total	Expenditures*		
		Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary		Primary	Secondary	Total
1901	17,535	22	---	2,205	---	---	1,596	---	---
1910	---	27	---	2,179	---	---	2,399	---	---
1915	---	29	---	2,599	---	---	3,583	---	---
1920	18,994	30	---	2,664	---	---	4,030	---	---
1922	20,127	30	3	2,744	331	3,075	---	---	10,946
1925	20,127	30	3	2,933	381	3,314	5,147	---	11,738
1930	27,789	32	5	3,648	516	4,164	---	---	12,962
1940	31,661	29	5	5,040	767	5,807	---	---	31,558
1945	31,661	26	5	5,315	886	6,201	---	---	53,082
1950	---	26	variable	5,955	916	6,871	116,965	49,260	166,225
1955	---	38	variable	7,938	997	8,935	214,001	102,638	316,639
1960	---	38	variable	8,359	2,088	10,447	243,014	249,093	492,107

* Expenditures stated in pounds

Note: These figures were compiled from the Annual Reports of the Director of Education and the Blue Books. Government aid was extended to secondary or higher grade schools in an appreciable amount from 1922. The distinction between primary and secondary schools was ill-defined after 1930, with the reclassification of schools into "vested" and "non-vested" categories. The number of secondary schools and their enrollments are, therefore, approximate.

APPENDIX D

**Statistics for Government Expenditures,
1969-1971**

**BERMUDA GOVERNMENT
EXPENDITURES**

JANUARY, 1969 to MARCH, 1971

Following is a summary under main heads of actual expenditure for the financial periods January, 1969 to March, 1970, and April, 1970 to March, 1971:

	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>	
	January 1969 to March 1970 (15 months)	April 1970 to March 1971
	\$	\$
Accountant General	288,329	341,481
Agriculture & Fisheries	1,025,773	1,238,970
Attorney General	83,477	83,976
Audit	55,955	60,740
Civil Aviation	1,623,043	1,137,205
Customs	819,079	840,287
Defence	455,936	306,848
Education	7,421,585	7,309,089
Executive Council	366,441	422,055
Financial Secretary	69,977	85,064
Foreign Exchange	92,315	99,520
Governor & Staff	161,457	127,565
Health & Welfare		
(a) Departmental	1,647,978	1,768,283
(b) St. Brendan's	1,004,214	894,418
(c) Lefroy House	152,404	128,103
(d) Welfare	67,388	85,685
Hospital, King Edward VII	1,777,023	3,761,158
Immigration & Labour	149,742	149,574
Judicial	222,636	240,362
Junior Training School	112,361	88,918
Legislature	203,515	276,618
Libraries	140,165	155,065
Marine & Ports	1,770,005	1,061,817
Miscellaneous	465,197	550,957
Planning	165,800	188,340
Police	2,334,646	2,474,671
Post Office	1,380,502	1,279,122
Prisons	888,701	1,123,256
Public Debt	397,705	601,288

APPENDIX E

The Bermuda College Act



BERMUDA

1974 : No. 68

THE BERMUDA COLLEGE ACT 1974

[Date of Assent 1st July, 1974]

[Operative Date]

WHEREAS it is expedient to establish an institution of education to be called the Bermuda College, to establish a Board of Governors therefor, and to make provision ancillary thereto or connected therewith:

Be it enacted by The Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly of Bermuda, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires — Interpretation.

"Auditor" means the person appointed to the public office of Auditor established under section 101 of the Constitution;

"Board" means the Board of Governors of the Bermuda College;

"Chief Executive Officer" means the Chief Executive Officer of the Board appointed under section 4;

"College" means the Bermuda College;

"Minister" means the Minister of Education.

2. (1) There shall be established a college with the name of the Bermuda College to provide full and part-time education and Establishment of Bermuda College.

training for persons over compulsory school age as defined in the Education Act 1951:

Provided that the College may admit persons under such age if in the opinion of the Board the circumstances are exceptional.

(2) The College shall be a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal and may sue or be sued in its corporate name.

(3) The College may with the prior approval of the Minister and not otherwise acquire and hold real property of any description and subject to the terms and conditions upon which the same is held, sell, exchange, lease, mortgage, dispose of, turn to account or otherwise deal with such property:

Provided that the College may acquire real property by devise or bequest without the said prior approval of the Minister.

**Establishment
of Board of
Governors.**

3. (1) For the purposes of managing the Bermuda College there shall be established a Board of Governors who shall be constituted in accordance with the provisions contained in the Schedule; and the incidental provisions of the Schedule shall apply thereto.

(2) The Board shall have the general management and control of the Bermuda College and for that purpose may –

- (a) exercise a general supervision of the affairs, purposes and functions of the College;
- (b) subject to subsection (3) of section 2, have the custody, control and disposition of all property, funds, fees and investments of the College;
- (c) subject to section 4, make such appointments of instructional staff and other employees as they think proper;
- (d) conduct examinations;
- (e) award diplomas, certificates and other academic distinctions;
- (f) award and administer bursaries and scholarships whether tenable at the College or elsewhere;
- (g) determine courses of study and admission standards;
- (h) accept gifts and donations whether of property or otherwise and whether subject to any special trust or not for the purposes of the College;
- (i) provide pecuniary benefits for the employees of the College on their retirement, resignation, discharge or

other termination of service or in the event of their sickness or injury and for their dependents, and for that purpose effect policies of insurance, establish pension and provident funds or make such other provision as may be necessary to secure for such employees and their dependents any or all of the pecuniary benefits to which the provisions of this paragraph relate:

- (j) subject to the provisions of this Act, do such other things as appear to them necessary or expedient for furthering the interests of the College.

(4) The Board may, with the prior approval of the Minister but not otherwise –

- (a) create such departments within the College as they consider expedient;
- (b) fix fees;
- (c) enter into agreements or arrangements on behalf of the College with other institutions of further education (including universities) for the provision of instruction or the granting of degrees, diplomas, certificates and other academic distinctions.

4. (1) The Board shall, after consultation with the Minister, appoint a Chief Executive Officer who shall be –

Chief Executive
Officer and
staff.

- (a) a full-time employee of the College;
- (b) the principal executive officer of the Board,

and in favour of a person dealing with the Board in good faith the Chief Executive Officer shall be deemed to have delegated to him such of the powers of the Board as are necessary to enable him to transact efficiently the day-to-day business of the College.

(2) The Board may, from time to time, employ such persons as may be necessary for the due performance of the functions of the College upon such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Board.

(3) Public officers and teachers in Government employment may be seconded to the College on such terms and conditions as may be agreed between the Minister and the Board.

(4) If a public officer receiving a pensionable emolument in the public service is seconded to the College the period during which he serves the College shall, for the purposes of computation

of time and amount of pension payable to him in respect of his service as a public officer, be deemed to be service in a pensionable office.

(5) The Minister may require the Board to pay into the Consolidated Fund such amounts as he may determine to reimburse the Government in respect of pensions payable by the Government to public officers who have been seconded to the College under this section.

Accounts.

5. (1) The Board shall cause proper accounts of the financial affairs of the College to be maintained.

(2) The accounts of the College shall be audited annually by the Auditor or an auditor appointed by him who shall report the result of his examination of the accounts of the College to the Minister.

Powers of Minister to give directions to the Board.

6. The Minister may, after consultation with the Board, give such general directions as to the policy to be followed by the Board in the performance of their functions as appear to the Minister to be desirable, and the Board shall give effect to any such directions.

Rules and by-laws.

7. (1) The Board may, with the prior approval of the Minister, make rules for -

- (a) the administration of the College;
- (b) the appointment, election, resignation, retirement and removal of officers and staff;
- (c) examinations;
- (d) the conferring of diplomas, certificates and other academic distinctions;
- (e) the establishment of advisory boards;
- (f) financial procedure;
- (g) the admission of students;
- (h) the conduct of students and staff;
- (i) the discipline of students;
- (j) generally, the carrying into effect of the provisions of this Act.

(2) The Board may make by-laws -

- (a) regulating their proceedings, including the quorum;
- (b) delegating their functions to a committee or officer thereof.

8. (1) The Board shall, as soon as practicable, and in any case not later than four months after the close of their accounting year, submit an annual report to the Minister on the activities of the College. Annual Report

(2) The Minister shall as soon as practicable after receiving the report of the Board, lay such report before both houses of the Legislature.

9. All property, real or personal, appertaining to the College shall be exempted from land tax and other taxes of a like nature, and the College shall also be exempted from employment tax. Exemption from taxes.

10. (1) The School Teachers' Superannuation Act 1934 is amended in section 1 — Amendments of other laws.

(a) by the renumbering of the existing section to be subsection (1);

(b) by the addition of the following new subsection —

“(2) The Chief Executive Officer of the Board of Governors of the Bermuda College and all persons appointed to the instructional staff of the Bermuda College shall be deemed to be teachers for the purposes of this Act, and the Bermuda College shall likewise be deemed to be a school.”.

(2) The Customs Tariff Act 1970 is amended in the Fifth Schedule by the deletion in Item 45 of the full stop at the end of the second paragraph thereof and by the substitution therefor of the following words “, and the Chief Executive Officer and the instructional staff of the Bermuda College.”.

(3) For the purposes of the Customs Tariff Act 1970 or other statutory provision relating to the imposition of any tax or duty the College shall be deemed to be a school.

11. This Act shall come into operation on such day as the Minister may, by notice in the Gazette, appoint. Commencement.

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SCHEDULE

1. The Board shall consist of a Chairman, Deputy Chairman and not more than seven other members appointed by the Minister and every member of the Board shall hold office for such time as may be specified in his appointment.
2. The Permanent Secretary of Education shall, in addition, be *ex officio* a member of the Board.
3. Any person ceasing to be a member of the Board shall be eligible for re-appointment.
4. If a member of the Board becomes, in the opinion of the Minister, unfit to continue in office or incapable of performing his duties, the Minister shall forthwith declare his office vacant, and shall notify the fact in such manner as the Minister thinks fit, and thereupon the office shall become vacant; and the Minister may, in like manner declare the office of a member of the Board vacant if he fails, without adequate cause, to attend three successive meetings thereof.
5. A member of the Board may resign his office at any time by notice in writing given to the Minister.
6. The powers of the Board may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in their number.
7. Members of the Board shall be paid such fees and allowances out of the funds of the College as the Board may, with the approval of the Minister, determine.
8. The Chief Executive Officer of the Board shall attend their meetings and be their secretary.

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VITA

NAME: Inez E. C. Browne-Dixon

DATE & PLACE OF BIRTH: 10 May 1925; Nevis, West Indies

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING:

- 1950 Teachers' Certificate, Teachers' Training College, Antigua, West Indies
- 1967 Bachelor of Arts, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario (English, History, Religion)
- 1975 Master of Arts, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan (Counseling & Guidance)
- 1984 Doctor of Philosophy Candidate, Andrews University (Educational Administration)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

- 1948-55 Grade Teacher, Department of Education, St. Kitts-Nevis, West Indies
- 1959-65 Grade Teacher, Department of Education, Bermuda
- 1965-72 Assistant Teacher, Bermuda Institute, Bermuda (History, French, English, Bible)
- 1972-79 Assistant Principal, Bermuda Institute, Bermuda
- 1978-80 Member, Standing Committee, Bermuda Secondary School Certificate, Department of Education, Bermuda
- 1979-80 Principal, Bermuda Institute